

# National Municipal Review

Vol. XXXV, No. 7

Total Number 357

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

---

## Contents for July 1946

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS .....	334
EDITORIAL COMMENT .....	<i>Alfred Willoughby</i> 335
MISSOURI COUNTIES STREAMLINED .....	<i>Estal E. Sparlin</i> 337
LONG BALLOT BURDENS DETROIT .....	<i>Donald S. Hecock</i> 344
RENAISSANCE IN KANSAS CITY .....	<i>Frank M. Stoll</i> 347
URBAN VS. RURAL IN CALIFORNIA .....	<i>Dean E. McHenry</i> 350
NEWS IN REVIEW	
CITY, STATE AND NATION .....	<i>H. M. Olmsted</i> 355
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST .....	362
CITIZEN ACTION .....	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i> 366
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .....	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> 371
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .....	<i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i> 375
TAXATION AND FINANCE .....	<i>Wade S. Smith</i> 379
LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .....	<i>Edward W. Weidner</i> 383
BOOKS IN REVIEW .....	386

---

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

# The League's Business

---

## *Winant Meets with League Officers*

League President John G. Winant, who retired as ambassador to the Court of St. James's to become United States representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, met May 27 with the League's executive committee at the Uptown Club in New York.

Problems of local government and citizen activity in the United States and abroad were discussed. President Winant expressed the conviction that the immediate postwar years will witness an unprecedented opportunity for service by the League.

The 1946 budget was approved after Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer, called attention to the need for an increase of at least \$17,000 in revenue for the year.

The executive secretary reported briefly on the League's current program which, he said, involved assistance in a record number of local, county and state situations. Currently active committees whose work was reported on were: Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions, Committee on State Government, County Government Committee, Committee on a Model Fiscal Program and Nominating Committee.

Present, in addition to President Winant and Mr. Pforzheimer, were: George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, Richard S. Childs, Arnold Frye, George H. Gallup, C. G. Hoag, John S. Linen, Ralph B. Maltby, Mark Matthews, Lawson Purdy and Alfred Willoughby.

---

## *Taft Heads Social Welfare Assembly*

Charles P. Taft, president of the Cincinnati Charter Committee, who has been active in National Municipal League affairs for many years, has been elected president of the National Social Welfare Assembly, formed to coordinate national planning among 39 private and governmental agencies which comprise its membership.

---

## *Jones Returns to Berlin*

Lieutenant Colonel Howard P. Jones, League secretary on military leave, returned late in June to Berlin, Germany, after a 30-day leave in the United States. It was his first visit to the United States since he went overseas with Military Government in 1943. Colonel Jones is attached to the Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.), A. & C. Division.

# National Municipal Review

## Editorial Comment

### How to Get Good Publicity

**I**T WAS only a half dozen years ago that Kansas City, Missouri, was this country's prize example of a corrupt, boss-ridden city suffering from virtually all the ills of crooked politics—alliance between crime and officialdom, an open spoils system, the "kick back" by city employees to the machine, political favoritism and persecution, fraudulent elections and a boss rolling in wealth.

Decent citizens were terrorized. The boss hand-picked the judges and others to whom citizens would normally look for protection of their liberties.

Today the civic and governmental scene in Kansas City is as different as night from day.<sup>1</sup> There are few, if any, cities which are better and more honestly run. Payrolls are no longer padded with thousands of political drones. City employees are well paid and earn their money. Services are infinitely better. No boss is milking and bilking the people to enrich his machine and himself.

It is obvious from the splendid results achieved in the last few years that the people of Kansas City are just as decent as the people of any city and that they were not content with what they used to have. But a dictator had gained the upper hand. He didn't use castor oil or outright murder as other dictators then current were using. Not quite.

But back in 1938, when a young

man submitted his entry in the Baldwin prize essay contest, the REVIEW mentioned his admonition that his identity be concealed because "my family, living in Kansas City, would be continually persecuted and my father run out of business if my paper should be published with my true name on it."

A business leader of the city promptly wrote the REVIEW complaining about the "bad publicity" being given to Kansas City. He was told that the cure lay in his own hands and in the hands of other good citizens of the place.

Now he has his answer in full. Kansas City is winning one honor after another for progress, and the publicity is good and deserved. The taxpayer gets his money's worth for his tax dollar. Business does not fear retaliation for failure to "cooperate" nor does it have to pay tribute.

A prime reason for this success was the willingness of high-minded citizens to offer themselves for the City Council and the ability of a discriminating citizenry to elect and reelect them, for in the council-manager plan the Council is the key to the situation: An able city manager was chosen to carry out the Council's policies, and the mayor and Council have steadfastly cooperated with him.

All through its troubled years, the very fact that Kansas City had a sound charter simplified the problem

<sup>1</sup>See also page 347.

when statesmanlike leadership emerged at last and the way opened for the people freely to express themselves.

The gains are impressive. The only loss, in addition to the one sustained by about as vicious a poli-

tical machine as this generation has seen, is to the opponents of the council-manager form of government. They no longer have a big city to point to as proof that the council-manager plan doesn't always result in good government.

## Glass! Hold That Rock!

**W**HILE we fret over domination by minorities and the disfranchisement of people in other countries, we might profitably do a little soul-searching in our own bailiwick where, presumably, we can really do something to correct bad situations.

Or can we?

Recently the United States Supreme Court refused an appeal for the reapportionment of Illinois congressional districts which, despite a clear constitutional mandate, had not been altered for 40 years. In Illinois the population of such districts ranges from 112,000 to 900,000. Thus the people of some districts have only one-eighth as much voice in the state's affairs as do others of their fellow-citizens.

And why is this? Well, the people living outside Chicago feel the people of the big city have lower moral and political standards than they have, says the appeal.

This may be a slight oversimplification. There is also some pretty cold-blooded politics in a situation like this, with rural legislators, who dominate Illinois as they do many other states, reluctant to cut themselves down to the size called for by the shift of population from farm to city during the last half-century.

But, recognizing that many people do believe that place of residence tends to produce higher or lower moral and political standards, it would be interesting to speculate on the nature, endowments, education and living conditions of the superman who would be left to cast a ballot on behalf of humanity if this elimination process were carried to its ultimate conclusion.

The Supreme Court's majority opinion said the controversy "concerns matters that bring courts into immediate and active relations with party contests" and that "it is hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people."

The minority opinion, holding that the districting act of 1901 should be invalidated, said it was a mere play on words to call the controversy political. The constitutional right to vote, the minority argued, should be upheld. But the majority decided that the solution is for the electorate to elect a state legislature which would apportion fairly, something the people haven't found it possible to do for half a century, and which they aren't likely to be able to do so long as the rural areas send more legislators to the state capitol than do the cities.

# Missouri Counties Streamlined

*Over one hundred laws implementing revised constitution will end bad practices and open door to future advances.*

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN\*

MISSOURI ordered its county government to the repair shop for an overhaul job with the adoption of the new state constitution in February 1945. The General Assembly has completed the transfiguration and the new streamlined model moved out on the main track under its own power on July 1, when the old laws became unconstitutional and new ones became effective. Although it will be a decade or two before the true significance of the changes will be known, a description and some analysis of the repair job is perhaps in order.

Missouri's new constitution made numerous changes in the fundamental structure of state and local government but probably none is as significant and far-reaching as are those changes relating to county government.

Under provisions of the 1875 Missouri constitution the chief governing body of the county was the County Court. Constitutionally speaking the County Court was possessed of a part of the "judicial power of the

state" and was a court of record. It was composed of three judges—a presiding judge and two associate judges—the probate judge was eligible to be a member according to the constitution although by law he was not. The County Court obviously was carried over from the time when local government consisted largely of a law enforcement officer and a court.

The old constitution also required the election in each county of a sheriff, a coroner and a "clerk of each of its courts of record." As there were two courts of record in each county—the Circuit Court and the County Court—this provision meant that two clerks must be elected. Thus the constitution required the election of a minimum of seven county officials. By law six others were elected in substantially all counties.

The old constitution was silent on the subject of county classification except that the General Assembly could pass no local or special law. Theoretically this meant only one class of counties and basically the structure of county government was the same in Carter County (population 6,226) as in Jackson County (population 477,828).

On the other hand, the Supreme Court had sanctioned population-bracket laws as not being in violation of the anti-special law provision of the constitution; all salaries were set by the General Assembly

\*Dr. Sparlin is a staff member of the Missouri Legislative Research Committee, where he has been working on revision of municipal and county government statutes in accordance with the provisions of the new Missouri constitution. Previously he was administrative analyst for the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute and district price executive for the Office of Price Administration at Little Rock, Arkansas. Several of his articles have been published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

according to this device and some organizational matters were dealt with in this manner. This resulted in many county matters being settled in the General Assembly which, in turn, led to certain abuses. The time of the General Assembly, elected to deal with statewide affairs, was often wasted on local matters; decisions that rightfully should have been made locally were settled in the state capitol; the legislature depended almost entirely on population as a basis of classification and was unable to separate counties with the same population but vastly different wealth and economic and social problems.

The old constitution made no provision for home rule or alternative forms of government except that a rather elaborate provision was made whereby counties could adopt township organization if they choose to do so. The tax rate limits and debt limits of the old constitution had been amended numerous times since 1875 so that they were a hodge-podge and had little to be said in their favor.

#### Constitutional Changes

The new constitution authorizes the General Assembly to classify counties into no more than four classes for the purpose of establishing their powers and organization and a "law applicable to any county shall apply to all counties in the class to which such county belongs." For the purpose of establishing salaries, however, laws need only meet the traditional test of "uniformity" within each class so that population-

bracket laws may be used to set salaries.

These provisions will lead inevitably to additional delegation of authority to local officials. For example, years ago the General Assembly established a welfare board in Buchanan County by requiring such a board in all counties containing a city of the first class. As Buchanan County was the only one containing such a city, the law was actually a special law in the guise of a general law and was mandatory. Under the new classification, however, Buchanan County is in Class 2 with two other counties, and those two counties do not at present want a welfare board. The law has been revised to say that the *County Court* in counties of the second class *may* establish a welfare board; thus local officials instead of the General Assembly decide if there will be a board.

Every county still must have a County Court *unless* it adopts an alternative form of government or a home rule charter; thus there is an escape under the new constitution where there was no choice under the old one. Furthermore, the County Court no longer languishes in the judicial article of the constitution, no longer possesses an inherent part of the judicial power of the state, is no longer a court of record; it is now a plain administrative board with power to transact county business. Some members of the Constitutional Convention attempted to change the name of the County Court to board of commissioners or some other more descriptive title but a majority of the convention decided

that was going a bit too far in flaunting tradition.

The new constitution makes no reference to the old constitutional offices of county clerk, circuit clerk, sheriff and coroner, leaving the General Assembly almost complete say-so on county government structure unhampered by constitutional restrictions. The old constitutional provisions for township organization are also eliminated, further unshackling the General Assembly.

#### No Fee System

All state and county officers in counties of over 100,000 population must be on a salary and may retain no fees. Some officials in St. Louis City, St. Louis County and Jackson County (Kansas City) received more than \$20,000 per year in fees—more than twice the salary of the governor. Of more importance, however, was the fact that the accountability provisions were so drawn that the people were unable to learn how much certain officials actually did receive.

All county officials charged with law enforcement and custody of prisoners must be placed on a salary. This constitutional provision resulted from dissatisfaction with the old fee schedule whereby the sheriff received \$1 for making an arrest which might take hours to consummate but \$3 for opening court, a matter of a few minutes. Too often he opened court when he should have been pursuing a criminal. On other occasions the sheriff made a special effort to make arrests toward the end of the month to bolster his monthly pay check. Also eliminated is the incentive for the maintenance of speed traps where

constables received so much per arrest and the justice of the peace a fee for each conviction.

The new constitution specifically authorizes the General Assembly to establish alternative forms of government for counties; it makes provision whereby up to ten counties may "consolidate" for the performance of some common function; authorizes all political subdivisions, including counties, to contract and cooperate with each other; provides for county consolidation by majority vote; and makes it possible for cities and counties to amalgamate, thereby eliminating one level of government.

All counties of over 85,000 population are given power to draw and adopt a home rule charter. Four counties are now eligible and a fifth will likely have more than 85,000 population when the 1950 census is taken. Counties adopting home rule charters are specifically granted certain legislative powers in contrast to the traditional position of the county as an administrative district. Furthermore, once a county adopts a home rule charter the General Assembly cannot pass any law relating to the establishment, discontinuance or salary of any of its officers. Movements are already on foot in three of the four counties looking towards the election of a commission to frame a charter.

The tax rate limits and debt limits of counties were completely revised and counties were given a somewhat greater leeway in determining tax rates and establishing debts than under the old constitution.

The elimination of the justice of the peace courts by the new constitution, while really a part of the judicial system, also materially changes county government. A magistrate court in each county is substituted for the antiquated J. P. courts. In counties of less than 30,000 population the magistrate is also the probate judge.

Most of these constitutional advances stem by and large from the foresight and sound practical judgment of William L. Bradshaw, professor of political science at the University of Missouri, member of the Constitutional Convention and chairman of one of its local government committees. Substantially every recommendation for change made by Professor Bradshaw in an article in the January 1942 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was embodied in the new constitution with the possible exception of the recommendation that county employees be selected on a merit basis.

#### **Laws Implementing Constitution**

The new constitution was adopted on February 27, 1945, at which time the General Assembly was in session. For more than a year, except for two short recesses, the Assembly has labored at the revision of laws to implement it. The article of the constitution on local government was assigned to the House of Representatives and a special Revision Committee on Local Government was appointed to draft necessary legislation. Fortunately, Hon. Douglas Mahnkey, a well liked, intelligent, hard working legislator from Taney County in the Ozarks, was appointed

chairman of the committee. Mahnkey and the members of his committee worked long hours with little pay and deserve credit for a tremendous task well done.

Of 223 bills on counties introduced 169 passed the General Assembly. This constitutes approximately one-third of all the revision work-load and is considerably greater than any other one phase of the work. As many as six staff members of the Legislative Research Committee have at times been assigned to the county work.

Because provisions of the laws relating to county government were scattered throughout the three-volume revised statutes, it was necessary to read carefully each of the 15,762 sections and ferret out the six to seven thousand sections related to county government. Each section poised a problem and required a policy decision. Would the sheriff, eliminated from the constitution, be established by law? What qualifications for the office would be established? Would a circuit clerk be established? A county clerk? A coroner? Would the old population-bracket laws establishing the county treasurer, recorder, prosecuting attorney and collector—now unconstitutional—be revised and how? A complete new set of salary laws had to be passed. Problem tumbled on top of problem.

The first big hurdle was establishment of the four classes. It was decided early that St. Louis City-County was excluded from the four classes by reason of special constitutional provisions. This left 114

counties to be grouped into four classes, and a "law applicable to any county shall apply to all counties in the class to which such county belongs." Jackson County (Kansas City) and St. Louis County fought hard to be placed in separate classes leaving only two for the remaining 112 counties, and there was a certain amount of logic in their argument. Jackson County contained one metropolitan city of nearly 400,000 inhabitants, while St. Louis County was suburban to St. Louis and contained some 50 incorporated places the largest of which had 33,000 population.

#### County Classes Established

By the use of population brackets a considerable body of law had been built up applying to each county. So many laws were passed at the 1941 and 1943 legislative sessions applying only to counties of 200,000 to 400,000 (St. Louis) and only to counties of 400,000 to 700,000 (Jackson) that the legislature was sometimes referred to as the St. Louis and Jackson County General Assembly. In the end the two counties consented to be in one class. The other three urban counties, Buchanan (St. Joseph), Greene (Springfield), and Jasper (Joplin) fell logically into a second class.

The same counties would fall in classes one and two respectively whether population or assessed valuation be used to classify, but the 109 rural counties, to which two classes were allocated, were illogically grouped by the population method because it brought poor and rich counties into the same class. As-

sessed valuation was finally adopted with the following result:

<i>Class</i>	<i>Assessed Value</i>	<i>Number of Counties</i>
1	over \$300,000,000	2
2	\$50,000,000 to \$300,000,000	3
3	\$10,000,000 to \$50,000,000	77
4	under \$10,000,000	32

The expressed purpose of the framers of the constitution was to "permit a simpler and less expensive form of government in the smaller counties of low assessed property valuation," and this classification went a long way in carrying out the intent of the framers. Of the 32 counties in Class 4, 30 are in the less wealthy Ozark region where there has long been a need for simpler and less expensive government. For the first time the General Assembly, as a result of the new constitution, is in a position to deal with the problem. Reynolds County (assessed valuation \$2,700,000) no longer must have substantially the same set of elective officials as Jackson County (assessed valuation \$646,500,000).

The bills on counties introduced in the recent session fall into four principal categories: (1) routine adjustment matters; (2) major changes to fit laws to all counties in the class; (3) bills to implement new authorizations in the constitution; and (4) a revision of the local road laws.

In many instances laws contained population brackets which coincided with one or more of the new classes. For example, the budget law for the

rural counties applied to all of less than 50,000 population. This bracket includes all counties of the third and fourth classes so that a bill was prepared substituting "third and fourth classes" for "50,000 population." Some 50 of the bills were of this nature and went through the General Assembly with little controversy.

It was necessary to draw nearly a hundred bills making major changes to fit laws to all counties in the class. For example, under the old law the offices of circuit clerk and recorder were combined in counties of less than 19,000 population but were separate in counties of over 19,000. The solution of this problem in counties of the first and second classes was simple in that the offices were separated. In fourth class counties the offices were combined as all counties in the fourth class were under 19,000 population. However, about half the third class counties had the two offices combined and about half had them separated. Neither group would capitulate. The law was finally written requiring every county of the third class to submit the question of combining or separating to a vote of the people; thus the question will be decided locally instead of by the General Assembly.

#### Forms of Government

About twenty bills were drawn to implement new provisions of the constitution. Most significant of these were the three alternative forms of government drawn for fourth class counties. These are known as the commission form, the county clerk form and the consolidated office form.

The commission form would abol-

ish the county court and make three of the other elective officials—the county clerk, assessor and collector—ex officio the County Court without additional pay. Such an arrangement would save a county some \$2,000 per annum, a rather significant sum in a county with a total budget of \$20,000 to \$25,000.

In the county clerk form the County Court would remain as the governing body, but the county clerk, assessor, collector and treasurer would be abolished and an elective county clerk would assume their duties.

In the consolidated office form the County Court would appoint the clerk who would assume the duties of five other offices which would be abolished; this form has many of the elements of the county manager plan.

All three bills have passed the House with substantial majorities, but are still before the Senate.

The new constitution made no significant change in the provisions governing local roads except to increase from 25 cents to 35 cents the maximum levy by counties for roads. It was generally conceded, however, that the local road laws of Missouri seriously needed revision and the committee chose to revise completely the chapter on roads instead of inserting the necessary changes on a piecemeal basis. A chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, Judge Henry Lamm, characterized the road laws, in a decision handed down a few years ago, thus:

We pause long enough to remark there is a precept that every man is

presumed to know the law. But should not that precept be amended so as to read, every man is presumed to know the law, *except the road law*? Certain it is that in some of its features it is a tangled skein of incongruities and ambiguities if not absurdities. Some of its provisions overlap, they do not make a neat joint with cognate sections and the law needs scientific revision. It would be a bold court that did not approach the road laws of Missouri with a questioning eye and a modest degree of doubt.

The Legislative Research Committee assigned one staff member to the road law revision work who spent approximately eight months digesting the old law, working with the committee on policy decisions and drafting the revision. Some 25 bills were introduced in this field, substantially all of which were passed by the General Assembly. A valiant attempt was made during the

course of this work to abolish the 900 special road districts but the influence of several full-time road district employees in various parts of the state was sufficient to overcome the inclination of a majority of the General Assembly to abolish them. The resulting revision of the road law, however, is a distinct step forward for Missouri.

The perspective is not yet such that a true appraisal of the results of constitutional and statutory revision in Missouri can be safely made. Preliminary examination, however, indicates a great advance in the field of county government, and it is safe to predict that over the years the flexibility infused into the constitution by the revision will greatly enhance democracy and efficiency in the "Show Me" state's county governments.

# Long Ballot Burdens Detroit

*Study reveals that very few voters cast their ballots for complete slate of legislative or councilmanic candidates.*

By DONALD S. HECOCK\*

THE Detroit voter's burden is greatly increased by the method of electing legislators. Under a constitutional provision nearly a hundred years old the state representatives to which a Michigan city is entitled must be elected "by general ticket." This results in Detroiters electing a delegation of 21 at large every other year—a task which few, if any, other voters in the country now attempt. On the local level, for good measure, there are nine councilmen to be elected at large in the alternate years.

The Short Ballot Organization was concerned primarily with eliminating minor administrative offices from the ballot, thus directing the spotlight of public attention on few positions. Many of the principles of this group are just as applicable to the election of long lists of legislators.<sup>1</sup> The ballot must still be short enough for the average citizen to vote intelligently, even on councilmen, unless he gives politics more attention than he does now. Have the limits of ability or interest of the voters been reached in Detroit? Can the election

of legislators be revised to encourage a higher level of efficiency in exercising the franchise? These are the questions faced by those interested in effective citizenship.

To determine whether any consistent voting patterns exist, a study was made of a partisan state election and a nonpartisan municipal election.<sup>2</sup> In Detroit "straight ticket" voting constitutes about 90 per cent of the total, so it was necessary to go to the primary where the vote is cast for individuals rather than for the party list. The sample used for the partisan primary consisted of all votes cast in every tenth precinct, 18,500 ballots. For the nonpartisan primary the sample was made up of the votes in every twentieth precinct, 4,600 ballots.

For each of the elections the number of candidates voted for on these ballots was tabulated. Perhaps the most striking result of this compilation was to find that in each primary a majority of those voting cast ballots for *eight candidates or less*. This would seem to indicate that even Detroit's nine councilmen are too many for the ordinary voter to handle at one time. It is usually assumed that only those most interested and conversant with public affairs participate in the primary—in these primaries about a third of the registered vote came out. It is rea-

---

\*Dr. Hecock is assistant professor of government at Wayne University and assistant director of the National Training School for Public Service. He is author of various studies on election results including *Detroit Voters and Recent Elections* (1938) and *Election Without Representation* (1945).

<sup>1</sup>See "The Ballot Is Still Too Long," by Richard S. Childs, the REVIEW, February 1946.

<sup>2</sup>The primaries studied were held in July 1944 and in August 1945.

sonable to expect that if a larger proportion of the electorate had gone to the polls the number "voting blindly" or ignoring legislative candidates would be significantly increased.

About 16 per cent of those casting ballots did not vote for any of the candidates for the House of Representatives. In the municipal primary 3 per cent did not vote for council candidates.

In the partisan primary 23 per cent of those voting used their full quota of 21 choices, while 47 per cent of those voting in the municipal primary were able to find satisfactory candidates to fill the nine council posts.

#### Aids in Voting

In the original tabulation it was evident that some "formula" or "mechanical aid" had been used by many of those who expressed their full quota of votes. This practice took various forms. The device of voting for consecutive names or for every other name appeared with significant frequency. In fact, there were numerous instances of this type of voting which actually went unrecorded because the individuals evidently lost count and voted for more than the number to be nominated, thus invalidating their ballots.

Another practice involved the limiting of choices to Irish or Polish names. Even more numerous were the voters who clearly restricted themselves to selecting Anglo-Saxon names.

The use of "slates" was another mechanical aid. Several citizen agencies as well as unions and special

interest groups circulated lists of their recommended candidates. About half the persons voting for the full quota of legislative candidates relied heavily on these slates. The fact that slate endorsements numbered less than one-half the number to be elected and the fact that they overlapped to some extent made appraisal difficult.

As might be expected notable variations in the numbers of legislators voted for appeared in different sections of the city. Some consistency in this behavior was sought by referring to maps showing the social composition of the city. To facilitate comparisons of these districts the number of candidates chosen by the median voter in each precinct was determined.<sup>3</sup>

Districts primarily Negro voted for the smallest number of candidates, while those predominantly Polish or Irish were consistently near the top. There appeared to be little correlation between the median number of candidates chosen and the levels of education in those areas. For example, those areas in which the largest percentage of adults had a high school education rarely led in the voting. Areas in which the inhabitants had the least formal education were as often at the top of the list as they were at the bottom.

Certainly, the advantages of election at large are impressive: gerrymandering and log-rolling are re-

---

<sup>3</sup>An accurate and complete report was not feasible because of the lack of integration between census tracts and election precincts. The rapid change of precinct boundaries and the sampling method further restricted precise comparisons.

duced or eliminated and the caliber of candidates tends to increase as the size of the district grows. These advantages, however, are more than offset when the number to be elected is so large that popular control is lost through the inability of conscientious citizens to cope with their election.

#### P. R. Would Help

It will be recalled that the *Model State Constitution*<sup>4</sup> provides for the selection of from three to seven legislators from each district by proportional representation, thus recognizing both the advantages of plural member districts and the voters' limitations. The *Model City Charter*<sup>4</sup> provides for P.R. election of city councilmen. Actual voting behavior in Detroit strongly supports both model laws. Over 54 per cent of Detroit voters were able to vote for seven candidates and 70 per cent were able to vote for three even when little publicity was given to those running. Proportional representation would furnish a framework in which the plunker voter, the ignorant voter and the discriminating voter could express themselves.

In eliminating many of the bottlenecks of war production it was necessary to divide and simplify the operation of complicated industrial processes so that less skilled employees might perform more of the work. This job breakdown made possible a much greater use of available manpower during a time when

it was necessary to scrape the bottom of the barrel. So also the complicated task of the voter needs to be revised and brought within the span of attention and control of the ordinary citizen. This is the essence of democratic participation and responsible representation.

#### EXTENT TO WHICH DETROIT VOTERS HELPED NOMINATE FULL COMPLE- MENT OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES AND COUNCILMEN

##### 1944 Primary, 21 State Representatives Nominated

<i>No. of Candidates Voted For</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Voters</i>
0	15.6
1	9.3
2	5.3
3	4.5
4	4.0
5	3.9
6	3.3
7	3.0
8	2.6
9	2.7
10	3.8
11	2.2
12	2.2
13	1.6
14	1.6
15	1.8
16	1.8
17	1.8
18	1.0
19	1.4
20	2.9
21	22.8

##### 1945 Primary, Nine Councilmen Elected

<i>No. of Candidates Voted For</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Voters</i>
0	3.3
1	5.8
2	4.9
3	8.2
4	6.1
5	6.6
6	6.3
7	5.6
8	6.2
9	47.0

<sup>4</sup>National Municipal League, 1941.

# Renaissance in Kansas City

*Former Pendergast domain, transformed by civic revolt, makes 'outstanding progress' in financial management.*

By FRANK M. STOLL\*

**W**ITHIN the short span of six years Kansas City has recorded an amazing transformation in government from a bankrupt city with a nation-wide reputation as a municipality controlled by gangsterism, graft and corruption to national acclaim for methods of financing and accounting and recognition as an outstandingly well governed city.

The innumerable irregularities became such a scandal that enraged voters elected a nonpartisan cleanup ticket which was swept into office April 10, 1940. This group has been in power ever since and the general election of March 26, 1946, marks its fourth term. Of the offices of mayor, eight councilmen and two municipal judges, the machine has been able to secure only two of the council seats.

After ten years of campaigning by a group of Kansas Citians, a council-manager charter was adopted in 1925 by a vote of four and one-half to one. Since the charter was law, the supporting element thought its job was done and that the evils in local public affairs would forthwith be eliminated. So these citizens did not carry on to nominate a nonpartisan ticket as provided by the

charter and the new controls only served to continue domination by the political machine. A local real estate man with a political background was selected by "Boss" Pendergast as city manager and the controlled council was used as a rubber stamp to carry out his edicts.

What has transpired since has been the subject of much comment in the nation's press. Here are some of the salient facts of Kansas City's machine misrule encountered by the nonpartisan administration which took office in 1940:

The city was faced with a deficit in claims and accounts of \$19,453,976, an amount exceeding three years' general taxes.

Deficit in the operating fund was \$2,733,185.

Funds for retirement of \$11,000,000 water sinking fund bonds due July 1, 1942, had been unlawfully diverted to other purposes.

Of the Ten Year Plan improvement bonds, \$11,445,009 had been spent without contract, as mandatory by law.

Suits and judgments for back pay claims aggregated \$6,825,250, while at the same time \$3,263,623 of the improvement bond money was used to pay wages of city employees.

A further item of \$1,200,000 in unrecorded liabilities was picked up in the audit and an additional sum of \$2,692,126 was found to have been diverted to unauthorized uses.

Huge sums of city funds, characterized as grossly exorbitant charges, were paid favored or machine-allied firms without bidding.

No inventories of fixed assets were available.

---

\*Former member of the editorial staff of the *Kansas City Star*, authority and writer in the fields of state and local government, Mr. Stoll is public relations director for Kansas City, Missouri, as well as the Midwest Research Institute. He recently completed three years of service as major with Army public relations, European Theater.

Total number of employees was estimated at 6,500, many of whom never reported for work and received their checks by mail. Investigators checking this list found 36 had criminal records, 26 were not United States citizens, and 669 questionnaires mailed to alleged employees were returned by the Post Office with the notation "incorrect address." (Total of city personnel has been reduced to 3,500 employees.)

At the outset the new administration was fortified in its progress when the machine-controlled Police Department and the Election Board were placed under state control. The charter was amended to improve fiscal controls, to strengthen the merit system for employment and control of city personnel and to require an annual audit by independent public accountants.

In its preliminary move to restore order out of the chaotic situation the new Council appointed L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Saginaw, Michigan, and president of the International City Managers' Association, as city manager of Kansas City. In assuming his new duties Mr. Cookingham was given complete administrative control and authority to select and supervise department heads. There has been complete cooperation between his office, the mayor and the Council.

These overhead policies were announced:

All expenditures budgeted within carefully and truthfully estimated revenues;

Strict budgetary control which prohibits any expenditure for which there is no appropriation;

Impartial tax collection policies and procedures and the placement of

burdens of taxation where they can best be borne;

Modern purchasing technique, free from favoritism, securing commodities competitively at the lowest available price, quality considered;

Installation of a standard accounting system and the utilization of mechanized up-to-date equipment in all departments to reduce labor costs and to produce better results in administration;

Retention of the democratic principles of government by a close supervision of the administration through the city auditor appointed by the Council.

#### Money in the Bank

Today Kansas City is better off by \$22,000,000 than it was six years ago. Most of this has gone to liquidate inherited indebtedness and in capital improvements. At the end of the fiscal year, April 30, 1946, there was a cash surplus of \$3,049,300.

This spectacular showing was accomplished while real estate tax valuations were reduced \$30,000,000, the rate on real and personal property lowered from 15 mills to 13.9 mills and the occupational license reduced from \$1 to 50 cents a thousand.

In 1942 Kansas City was singled out by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association as "the city making the most outstanding progress in the installation of improved accounting and financial procedures." In 1945 this city received the first award by that association for its financial report as to "content, arrangement, presentation and the underlying principles of accounting," which had "met the high standards set by the association, the first department to be so recognized." (Rollin F. Agard, Kansas City's director of finance, is

president of the Municipal Finance Officers Association.)

The progress made in rebuilding the city is indicated by citing some of the principal accomplishments of the past six years: built and purchased \$9,125,527 in permanent improvements; reduced the bonded debt by \$6,322,054; paid \$1,982,749 in back-pay claims and unpaid bills inherited from the machine administration.

#### Some Accomplishments

An example of economies and sound business policies which brought about the changing picture in the Kansas City scene is exemplified by information on a few departments.

The Water Department was taken over with an operating deficit of \$695,665, a deficit in the sinking fund of \$8,323,936 and a pay roll carrying 905 persons, many of whom were political workers receiving salaries from the department for duties in behalf of the machine organization. Contrast this with the showing made by the present administration in the past six years whereby the department has paid its own way, and from current revenue has:

Reduced department's debt	\$2,221,000
Built water softening plant	1,042,555
Buildings, land and equipment	145,013
Meter distribution and improvements	262,464
New equipment	95,018
Appropriated for current improvements	350,000
Total	\$4,116,050

All of this has been accomplished efficiently with 363 employees and there is a cash balance on hand of approximately \$1,500,000.

The total cost of garbage collection has run as high as \$408,827 and the machine was paying \$6.85 a ton. There was due the contractor \$206,628 when the present administration took over in 1940. A new contract was negotiated, the price reduced to \$5.35 a ton drained of all water, and the collection costs are now approximately \$237,000 a year.

Space does not permit discussion of other departments, but similar accomplishments have been recorded in public works, health, fire, welfare, park and other branches.

Kansas City's postwar improvement program is most comprehensive and detailed work of the City Planning Commission has served as a model for other cities. It involves streets and trafficways, replacement of blighted areas, adequate housing, urban redevelopment, extensive development of the two municipal airports, playground and other recreational developments, downtown parking relief and other constructive improvements, suggesting bond expenditures estimated at \$40,000,000.

Thus Kansas City marches on to greater triumph and a new proclamation of faith in the soundness of council-manager government, which can be so successful when supported by citizen activity.

# Urban vs. Rural in California

*Torn by north-south and city-country controversies state faces new struggle over legislative reapportionment.*

By DEAN E. McHENRY\*

CALIFORNIA, as its boosters and advertisements have never allowed the nation to forget, is a large state with an infinite variety of climates, resources, peoples and economic interests. From this diversity have emerged political differences so great that division of the state has been considered seriously several times since California came into the union in 1850.

The fundamental political cleavages that appear in the recurring struggles over the basis of representation in the state legislature are north versus south and urban versus rural.<sup>1</sup> Political parties play an insignificant role in California apportionment matters just as they do in the state's legislative process. Examination of the problem of apportionment is especially timely now, for the state may be on the eve of a campaign over an initiative constitutional amendment which, if adopted by the

people in November, will change the whole basis of representation in the State Senate.

The California constitution, a bulky and Topsy-like document, prescribes that there shall be 80 members of the Assembly and 40 members of the Senate; assemblymen serve for two years, senators for four.

As in many other states the constitution requires that the legislature reapportion legislative districts after each decennial census. Like Congress, however, the legislature failed to redistrict after the census of 1920. In order to avoid recurrence of such an episode a constitutional amendment adopted in 1926 provides that if the legislature fails to act during the first regular session after the federal census has been taken, a Reapportionment Commission shall have full power to redistrict. The commission is composed of five elective state officials—lieutenant governor, attorney general, controller, secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction.

Assembly districts are based upon population. On the whole, except after the 1920 census, the Assembly has been reapportioned promptly and fairly. There is some variation in the population of the 80 Assembly districts because no county may be divided to form a district unless it is large enough for two or more districts. At present the average Assembly district contains 86,342 in

---

\*Dr. McHenry is associate professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He taught previously at Williams College and Pennsylvania State College. In 1934-35 he inaugurated the Legislative Reference Service of the Bureau of Public Administration on the Berkeley campus of the university. He is co-author of *California Government: Politics and Administration* (1945) and of *The American System of Government* (in press).

<sup>1</sup>The most comprehensive study of these factors is *Sectionalism and Representation in the California State Legislature, 1911-1931*, by George W. Bemis (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1934).

1940 population; the largest district has 135,124 and the smallest 56,449.

Senate districts are based mainly upon counties. Until 1926, however, California employed population as the basis of representation in both houses. In that year agricultural interests, alarmed by the rapid urbanization of the state, initiated a constitutional amendment that substituted units of government for population in constructing Senate districts. This so-called "federal plan" distributed the 40 senatorships among the 58 counties by providing that no county could have more than one senator, and no more than three small counties could be grouped together to make a senatorial district. In a somewhat frantic effort to check the rising influence of southern California, San Francisco interests supported the farm plan even though it meant a great reduction in the bay city's own representation. The scheme was adopted in November 1926.

#### North versus South

Northern and southern California are divided by more than topography. The north is older and has a larger element of native sons and daughters. Led by San Francisco the north often votes "liberal" on moral issues and "conservative" on drastic political reform. Organized labor traditionally has been strong in the bay district. The south is new and its people have migrated from other sections of the country mainly within the last generation or two. Formerly quite conservative on political issues, Los Angeles has recently turned progressive in national politics and occasionally in state affairs as well.

During the past fifteen years organized labor has made great headway in southern California.

The intense sectional political battles over legislative apportionment which have been fought between north and south have stemmed from the rapid increase of population in the southern counties. Los Angeles County alone increased from 4 per cent of the state's population in 1880, to 21 per cent in 1910, 27 per cent in 1920, 39 per cent in 1930, and 40 per cent in 1940. San Francisco had 27 per cent of the state's population in 1880 but this percentage declined to 17 in 1910, 15 in 1920, 11 in 1930, and 9 in 1940.

San Francisco and the north profited from the failure to reapportion the two houses in 1921. The deadlock continued until 1926 when the voters were confronted with two initiative constitutional amendments on the subject. Both schemes provided for a reapportionment commission. An "all parties" committee proposed that the existing population basis of representation be continued for both Senate and Assembly. The "federal plan," originally sponsored by agrarian groups, has already been described.

It is unlikely that the "federal plan" could have been adopted with farm organization support alone, but in this urban-rural controversy San Francisco and other northern urban interests joined forces with rural California. The plan was adopted by a substantial majority and carried in every county except Los Angeles. After the 1927 legislature enacted a reapportionment law under the plan,

it was held up by referendum and another vote was obtained on the issue in November 1928. Again the rural-San Francisco bloc stood together and a majority was obtained in support of the law.

In 1931 the legislature was faced with another reapportionment struggle. The principal stakes were nine new seats in Congress ready for distribution and the reallocation of Assembly seats according to the 1930 population. San Francisco, joined by other northern interests, fought hard to retain the largest possible share of representation. In the end southern California legislators and some from the central valley united to defeat northern forces. The 1931 reapportionment act gave the north one new Congressman while the south secured eight. The north lost a total of nine seats in the Assembly of which one went to the central valley and eight to Los Angeles County. For the first time the southern counties secured a majority of Assembly districts—42 of the 80.

Reapportionment in 1941 was carried out with less controversy. A bipartisan combination of southern legislators stood together in the Assembly. The central valley received one new congressional district and southern California received two. The Assembly version of the bill would have taken two assemblymen away from San Francisco and one from Alameda, but the Senate saved one of the Assembly seats for San Francisco; the other two were assigned to Los Angeles.

The old north-versus-south cleavage still exists, but it is now recog-

nized that the diversity of interests between urban and rural areas is of greater importance. San Francisco and Los Angeles, traditional rivals, increasingly are finding that they have common problems and both can gain from working together. At reapportionment time there may be a brief resumption of hostilities over a seat or two in the Assembly, but the two metropolitan areas appear to have reconciled their outstanding differences. This new spirit of cooperation is evidenced in the collaboration of northern and southern groups in the current movement to reapportion the Senate. Drafted by Assemblyman George Collins of San Francisco, the proposition is receiving support from leaders in both metropolitan areas.

#### Urban-Rural Rivalry

The "federal plan" of apportioning the California Senate is one of the most extreme departures in the American states from the principle of representation according to population. The instance of greatest disparity is between Los Angeles County which has one senator for its 2,785,643 people (1940 census) and Inyo and Mono Counties which have one senator for their 9,923 people (1940 census). A Los Angeles law professor, recently returned from Army duty in Germany, because of the housing shortage was forced to establish his family in one of these little counties. Using it as his legal residence, his influence in State Senate matters theoretically is over 280 times what it would be if he resided in Los Angeles. David O. Walter's studies of urban representation show

the Los Angeles metropolitan area the most underrepresented in the State Senate of any of the fifteen largest urban centers.<sup>2</sup>

Each of the 27 larger counties, constituting senatorial districts themselves, receives 2.5 per cent of the total representation in the Senate. Los Angeles with over 40 per cent of the population of the state, San Francisco with nearly 10 per cent, Alameda with over 7 per cent—each has received the standard 2.5 per cent. The four largest counties—Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda and San Diego—have over 60 per cent of the state's people yet have only 10 per cent of the Senate seats. Figured from the other extreme, a clear majority of 21 senators is chosen from districts that contain an aggregate of 12.7 per cent of the state's total population.

Proponents of the "federal plan" argue that it provides an equitable balance between urban and rural areas by giving the former preponderance in the Assembly and the latter the leading role in the Senate. As the name of the plan indicates, there was a definite attempt to draw an analogy between the equal representation of the states in the national Senate and the representation by counties in the State Senate. Continued application of representation by population, farm leaders maintained in 1926, would make the state

legislative power fall almost wholly in the hands of Los Angeles.

Opponents of the present system of representation in the Senate cite figures to prove that, far from a balance, the plan has produced a virtual veto power over state legislation wielded by a Senate majority representing as little as 12.7 per cent of the people. They allege that counties in the state are not comparable to states in the union; that county organization is the product of historical accident, early transportation limits and other factors no longer present. Certainly the "federal plan" represents with accuracy neither area nor agriculture. The historic counties of the Mother Lode country are small and sparsely populated; the newer counties of southern California are large in area and relatively dense in population. A system of representation based strictly on area would give San Bernardino County 13 per cent of the state senators. A system based on the number of farms or agricultural productivity would give the largest representation to Los Angeles County.

#### Business Pressure Groups

In some ways the urban-rural rivalry for legislative representation is a smoke screen for another type of cleavage. Certain business interests in the state have found it easier to make their influence felt in the legislature through senators from rural areas. Privately owned utilities, banks, insurance companies and other concerns with crucial legislative programs have discovered some "cow county" legislators more responsive to their demands and less committed

---

<sup>2</sup>"Representation of Metropolitan Districts," by David O. Walter, the REVIEW, March 1938; "Reapportionment and Urban Representation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1938.

to contrary points of view on key social and economic questions than are urban representatives. The urban legislator is more likely to be influenced by organized labor and by the many popular movements that ebb and flow through California politics.

The "federal plan" has had another important influence on state politics during the twenty years since it was adopted. It has weakened the hand of the governor and has intensified the tendency to legislative-executive deadlock. The governor is elected by and is reasonably representative of the people of the state. Assemblymen, elected directly from districts of standard size, tend to reflect the views of their constituents and in the aggregate represent somewhat the same constituency the governor does. While elected by the same people the Senate basis of representation distorts the value of each vote cast in a most capricious manner. As a result, not only are farm and certain business interests given disproportionate representation, but the governor's leadership frequently is stymied by the senatorial veto exercised by this artificial majority.

The "federal plan," a drastic departure from popular representation, according to Professor Thomas S. Barclay, "has perpetuated an unwarranted rotten borough system."<sup>3</sup>

#### Campaign for Reform

An initiative constitutional amendment, providing for reapportionment of senatorial districts, may qualify

for a place on the November 1946 ballot. It provides that counties shall have representation in the Senate on the basis of population, except that no county may have more than ten senators. If adopted it will mean that Los Angeles will at once receive the maximum of ten seats. The remaining 30 senatorships would be divided among the other 57 counties. The average senatorial district outside Los Angeles County would have a population of about 137,400. This ratio would yield senators for the larger counties, varying with formula employed, as follows:

Los Angeles, ten; San Francisco, four or five; Alameda, three or four; San Diego, two.

The proposal appears to be a fair one from most points of view. The limitation that no county may have more than 25 per cent of the seats is a concession to quiet both northern and rural fear of domination by Los Angeles. To date it appears that support for the proposal will come mainly from the large counties which will receive additional representation—Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda and San Diego. Organized labor and some urban business interests may be expected to support the reform with vigor. Middle-sized counties will neither gain nor lose senators and so may be expected to be rather neutral on the proposal. The smaller counties, faced with drastic reduction of representation, will certainly make a strong fight to defeat the amendment. They will undoubtedly receive the support of organized farmers and some business

(Continued on Page 388)

<sup>3</sup>"Reapportionment in California," by Thomas S. Barclay, *The Pacific Historical Review*, June 1936.

# News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Manager Charter Drafted for Hartford

*Plan to Be Submitted to  
Voters and Legislature*

THE Charter Commission of Hartford, Connecticut, consisting of five Republicans and four Democrats, has completed its draft of a charter for that city. It is expected that after public hearings it will be submitted to the voters at the November election and, if approved, to the state legislature next year.

The most outstanding feature of the proposal is its recommendation of the council-manager plan. The manager would be appointed by the council. He would have full administrative authority, including appointment and removal of the directors of finance, safety, public works, engineering, health and welfare, parks and recreation, and personnel. Each director appoints the administrative heads of the various divisions under his supervision.

The Council, to consist of nine members elected at large, would elect one of its members as mayor, to act as its president and as ceremonial head of the city government. The present Council is made up of fifteen members elected by wards and five elected at large, and is presided over by the mayor or, in his absence, by an acting president chosen by the Council from its membership.

Besides the nine city councilmen the voters would elect a nine-member Board of Education with overlapping terms, and also a town clerk, treasurer, selectmen, constables and justices of the peace, as at present. Party designations are eliminated for the municipal elections and nominations are to be by petition.

The present Board of Finance which has prepared the budget is abolished in the draft. The number of assessors is cut from five to one man who is to be under the director of finance, who would also take over the duties of the present elective tax collector and supervise a central purchasing system. The present self-perpetuating ten-man Park Board is to be abolished.

Civil service for city employees is provided, with a director of personnel and a personnel advisory board, which will also act as a board of appeals.

A merger of the police court and the city court into a municipal court is proposed, and also a reorganization of the working arrangements for judges, prosecutors and clerks.

Chairman Lucius F. Robinson of the charter commission issued a statement including the following:

"The powers of the council are sufficiently broad to eliminate the necessity of continuing legislative action at the General Assembly's sessions. The provisions with respect to budgeting and control of expenditures are designed to prevent over-spending of appropriations. Borrowing for payment of current expenses is precluded. Refunding bonds are prohibited. The pension rights of the municipal employees are not interfered with. In so far as future employees are concerned, however, the excessive cost of the present system is braked. Individual directors take the place of many of the present commissions. The powers and duties of such boards as the City Plan Commission, the Zoning Board of Appeals, the Social Adjustment Commission and the Board of Education remain with minor changes designed to facilitate and improve operation."

### **Council-Manager Plan Developments**

On June 25 **Fargo, North Dakota**, adopted the manager plan by a vote of three to one.

**Madison, South Dakota**, where a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan was campaigned for by commercial and service organizations, voted in favor of the plan on May 31, 536 to 533.

The City Council of **Carrizo Springs, Texas**, passed a council-manager ordinance which became effective February 13. This action followed a popular vote on December 22 authorizing the council to appoint a city manager within 60 days.

**Winter Park, Florida**, has appointed a city manager.

Three municipalities in Canada have been added to the list of manager cities. **Hull and Riviere du Loup, Quebec**, have appointed managers in accordance with action of the provincial legislature. **St. John, New Brunswick**, adopted the council-manager plan on April 30.

General legislation to permit towns in **Massachusetts** to adopt Plan E (manager and P. R. council) has been killed in the State Senate.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Malden, Massachusetts**, at its spring dinner heard George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, describe the success of Plan E in Cambridge and recommend its adoption by Malden.

In **Lawrence, Massachusetts**, Frank E. Dunn, director of public relations and finance of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, described Plan E and the success of council-manager government to the Rotary Club on May 23.

The **Hartford, Connecticut**, Charter Commission recommends the council-manager plan for that city (see separate item).

The League of Women Voters of the

town of **Fairfield, Connecticut**, has been studying the government of that community, with a favorable attitude to the town manager plan.

**Staunton, Virginia**, first city to have a manager (1908), has engaged an apprentice for training as a city manager under the GI Bill of Rights. The appointee, E. L. Thacker, is an engineering graduate and was recently a lieutenant, junior grade, in naval ordnance.

Renewed attempts are being made to secure optional legislation providing the council-manager plan for **Illinois** cities.

In **Montevideo, Minnesota**, efforts have been under way to create a charter commission, which, under home rule provisions, would be of fifteen members appointed by the district court judge. Various civic groups have been asked to suggest members. The mayor, council president and representatives of the two newspapers have agreed to serve on the commission.

The St. Louis Governmental Research Institute has been engaged by the recently elected Charter Commission of **University City, Missouri**, as consultant in the drafting of a new charter. The League of Women Voters has gone on record as favoring the manager plan.

An organization to campaign in favor of a council-manager plan for **Madison, Wisconsin**, was established at a meeting of some 150 persons on June 3 in the Community Center. The meeting was sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Those present voted to form the Madison Citizens Association on Municipal Government, and a committee of seven members was appointed to draft a council-manager ordinance for submission to a further public meeting and thereafter to the City Council. If the latter does not provide the two-thirds majority necessary to change the city's form of government, it is planned to circulate peti-

tions to compel a referendum at the November 5 general election.

The **Coffeyville, Kansas**, Chamber of Commerce is conducting a campaign for the council-manager plan.

In **Delta, Colorado**, petitions have been circulated for the purpose of calling a special election on the adoption of the council-manager plan.

Rapid growth of **Aurora, Colorado**, has stimulated a movement for home rule under which more revenues for imperative improvements can be authorized than under the restrictions of general legislation prohibiting increases of more than 5 per cent per annum. The council-manager plan has been suggested.

The weekly *Sun* of **Wickenburg, Arizona**, has been carrying a series of articles about the manager plan.

The City Council of **Pendleton, Oregon**, acting on recommendation of its charter revision committee, has authorized preparation of a council-manager charter, which is expected to be submitted to popular vote this summer.

**Grants Pass, Oregon**, will vote July 10 on a charter amendment providing for the manager plan.

Revision of the charter of **Eureka, California**, to establish the manager plan has been ordered by the City Council, and a new charter is expected to be submitted to popular vote in June 1947.

The city council of **Compton, California**, which now has the manager plan, has authorized revision of its charter and has engaged a consultant. In **Santa Monica**, which has the commission plan, a board of freeholders is drafting a new charter with the aid of a consultant; while not specified, it may be expected that the council-manager plan will be considered.

Another movement to abolish the council-manager plan with proportional representation is reported from **Toledo, Ohio**.

**Stockholm, Maine**, at a town meeting and **Pittsburg, Texas**, at an election (246 to 5) recently voted to retain the manager plan.

Interest in the council-manager plan is also being shown at **Monroe, Wisconsin**, **Boonville, Missouri**, **Okemah, Oklahoma**, and **San Antonio, Texas**.

### ***Merit Awards in New York and Detroit***

Cash awards, pay raises or other special recognition will be granted New York State employees for valuable suggestions and exceptional accomplishments in the line of duty, the Civil Service Assembly reported last month.

The new merit award plan is patterned after similar special recognition programs used in private industries and some federal departments and agencies. The New York plan will be administered by a Merit Award Board created by the state legislature. Pay increases awarded by the board are not to boost any employee's salary beyond the maximum set for his civil service classification.

In Detroit, 86 cash prizes were distributed to city employees for efficiency and economy suggestions in a \$2,500 Civic Award Contest in the spring. The \$500 grand prize was won by the superintendent of power production for the Public Lighting Commission, for his recommendation for centralizing the purchase and handling of the 400,000 tons of coal used annually by all city departments; it is expected to save \$125,000 or more in a year.

More than 1,000 entries were submitted in the Detroit competition for which some 35,000 city employees were eligible. Only department heads and their assistants were excluded.

The contest was conceived by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research<sup>1</sup> and financed by an anonymous

---

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, April 1946, page 195.

donor. It was approved by the Mayor and Council and was conducted as a municipal project. Preliminary judgment of the entries was made by the Mayor's Administrative Study Committee. Final judges were trustees of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

---

### ***Graduate Fellowships at University of Denver***

The College of Commerce of the University of Denver has announced its ninth annual award of ten graduate fellowships in government management, covering an intensive academic and field work training program in the twelve-month period beginning September 16, 1946. Applications will be received until September 1.

---

### ***1946 Connecticut Report Contest***

The Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut, will conduct another contest for the best annual report of towns, boroughs and cities in that state. The reports will be judged on the basis of content, utility, understandability and attractiveness, and certificates of various grades will be awarded. Annual reports published at any time during 1946 will be eligible.

---

### ***City-wide Labor Dispute Flares in Rochester, New York***

Following a partial "general strike" in Rochester, New York, on May 28, city officials agreed to permit municipal employees to join any organization that professed to be loyal to the United States and not to favor strikes against the public, but a policy of no contracts with unions was maintained.

Labor difficulties between the city

and its Public Works Department employees had developed from efforts of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) to organize the workers of that department, and on May 15 the city manager abolished 489 public works jobs in an attempt to prevent union control. Many of those discharged formed picket lines to prevent the functioning of the department and were arrested. The jobs were recreated on May 20 and some 260 men returned to work. The city manager announced that he would meet with any committee of employees or recent employees, but declined to deal with the union.

The AFL and CIO unions in the city, said to number 30,000 and 18,000 members respectively—Rochester not being heavily organized—combined in a threat of a general strike to compel city recognition of the FSCME, and when the city officials maintained their position a strike of many elements of organized labor in various industries and services took place on May 28, interfering with numerous economic functions throughout the city. Public transportation, newspapers, movies and the garment industry were chiefly involved in addition to the city's public works and sanitation workers.

The strike was called off at 2 A.M. on May 29, when city officials entered into a settlement in which the state administration is reported to have had a part. All striking city employees were taken back without prejudice, disorderly conduct charges against pickets were dropped, and the city administration agreed that employees could join any organization with loyal and anti-strike policies. Collective bargaining as such was not conceded, the city claiming this to be beyond its proper powers, but the officials agreed to meet with committees of employees who could be represented by counsel.

### ***Rhode Island, Missouri Adopt Urban Redevelopment Laws***

Urban redevelopment legislation looking to the rehabilitation of blighted areas has recently been adopted in Rhode Island and Missouri. The American Society of Planning Officials reports that 23 states now have some type of urban redevelopment program.

The Rhode Island Community Redevelopment Act provides for city planning commissions with extensive powers to acquire land and bring development projects under control of the municipal government. The state will not grant this power to cities, however, unless they have "master plans" for long-range urban development adopted by their official planning agencies. Such plans must include a comprehensive land use plan and the location of existing and proposed highways and other transportation arteries, and must consider other vital factors such as population density trends.

Following adoption by the city council of urban development plans submitted by the planning agency, applications for building permits in project areas may be submitted by private builders for council approval. The city planning agencies themselves are to be financed by municipal funds and may acquire any land in the city for purposes of rehabilitation and development in line with the city master plan. The municipal legislative body may establish a redevelopment revolving fund and issue revenue bonds to help finance such projects. Provision is made for two or more adjacent communities to exercise jointly the powers of the state act.

The Missouri Urban Redevelopment Corporations Act repeals 1943 legislation and provides for municipal redevelopment corporations in cities of 350,000 or more (St. Louis and Kansas City). The new law includes an in-

ducement to private industry to invest in redevelopment projects by providing partial tax exemption over 25 years on the real estate involved.

Missouri cities are empowered by the new act to acquire any lands designated as redevelopment areas on their master plans. The municipality may then lease or sell the land to private investors whose redevelopment plans meet with approval of the city administration.

### ***High Court Refuses Aid for Illinois Redistricting***

By a four-to-three vote, without a full membership participating, the United States Supreme Court on June 10 denied the application of three eminent Illinois citizens to have the 1901 Illinois congressional districting act invalidated.<sup>1</sup> The majority opinion, written by Justice Frankfurter, contended that the matter involved "party contests" from which the court should be aloof, saying, "It is hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people."

Justice Black, in a dissenting opinion concurred in by Justices Douglas and Murphy, said that to call the controversy merely "political" was a play on words. He pointed out that the failure of the Illinois legislature to reapportion for 40 years had resulted in election districts with population ranging from 112,000 to over 900,000, and declared, "Such a gross inequality in the voting power of citizens irrefutably demonstrates a complete lack of effort to make an equitable apportionment." He urged that the constitutional rights of voters should be upheld and the obsolete districting act for congressional elections invalidated.

Justice Frankfurter gave some recognition to the inequitable situation but merely suggested that the people

---

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 129.

of Illinois elect a legislature that would apportion properly, or that "the ample powers of Congress" be invoked.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Administrators' Group Aids Interstate Probation Control***

The Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers, first promulgated and signed by 25 states in 1937, now has more signatories—39—than any other such formal interstate agreement, other than the United States constitution. It is now in a better position than ever for effective administration since the completion of organizational procedure by the Interstate Compact Administrators' Association, the basis and purpose of which are described in *State Government* by the association's president, Joseph H. Hagan, administrator of the Rhode Island Division of Probation and Parole.

Within a year after the compact was initiated a set of rules and regulations was drafted, submitted to the various administrators and approved. Since then there have been various suggestions for changes and a number of criticisms with respect to handling of specific cases in certain states. In 1944, at the annual conference of the administrators, an interim committee was appointed to study the rules and regulations and report back the next year, at which time its major recommendation was for the establishment of an Interstate Compact Administrators Association to provide means and machinery by which questions of policy, compact interpretation and administrative regulation could be officially and continuously acted upon.

Accordingly, in November 1945, the association was set up, comprised *ex-officio* of the several administrators of the states and not more than one deputy or assistant administrator. Oth-

er deputies and assistants can be associate members. There is an executive committee for the business management and operation of the association. A council of five members has recently been established as a standing committee on rules and regulations and a clearing house for all matters that may arise under the rules and regulations and adopted forms. Any administrator may request the council's interpretation or opinion on the compact, the rules and regulations, or administrative practice. A majority opinion of the council is required in order to establish such rulings.

The compact was designed not only to aid rehabilitation of those with criminal records but also to stop "commuting criminals" from taking advantage of the legal devices affording protection by state lines.

### **Connecticut an Example**

An example of its operation is described in *State Government* by Henry H. Hunt, administrator for Connecticut, where full-fledged operation of the compact has been in effect for a year. With rehabilitation and encouragement of the parolee the primary objectives of its program, the state provides careful supervision of parolees from other parts of the country.

If a parolee in Oregon, for example, wishes to live in Connecticut, where employment or family ties attract him, the Oregon compact administrator asks the like officer in Connecticut to investigate the parolee's proposed environment and opportunities for congenial livelihood. The results of the investigation are forwarded to Oregon where the administrator decides whether or not the parolee would be better off in Connecticut.

If the parolee is allowed to live in the latter state, its agency then takes over the duties of supervising his re-

<sup>3</sup>See editorial, page 336, this issue.

habilitation. Close coordination of agencies acting in this reciprocal program is furthered by the Interstate Compact Administrators Association. Movement of all interstate probation and parole cases is constantly observed.

States not yet participating in this reciprocal system are Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota and Texas.

### ***Senate Modifies Plan of Congressional Reorganization***

Faced with delaying tactics of members desiring more control of patronage, proponents of the LaFollette congressional reorganization plan<sup>1</sup> gave ground and secured adoption of a modified version in the Senate by a vote of 49 to 16 on June 10.

Senator LaFollette had first yielded on June 8 to opponents of an Office of Congressional Personnel by agreeing to appointment of committee aides by committee majorities, and on June 10 he offered to eliminate the anti-patronage provision in return for unanimous consent to limit debate. He claimed that the "keystone of the arch" of reorganization had been retained in the provisions permitting joint sessions and reducing standing committees from 33 to 15 in the Senate and from 48 to 18 in the House by consolidation of functions.

Increase of salaries of senators and representatives from \$10,000 to \$15,000 was included, together with a pension system more liberal than that for civil service employees.

Many provisions of the original draft were retained in the modified bill, which was sent to the House. Certain details in addition to those mentioned last month were summarized by John D. Morris in the *New York Times*:

Committees would be authorized to appoint four professional staff members in addition to the regular clerical staffs, and the appropriations committees would be allowed four such experts for each sub-committee as well. Committees would receive subpoena power and expense accounts to make investigations, and special investigative committees would be banned.

The bill would require joint sessions of the four revenue-raising and appropriations committees of the two houses at the beginning of each session to estimate expenditures and receipts for the ensuing fiscal year. When proposed expenditures exceeded estimated receipts, passage of a concurrent resolution by both houses raising the debt limit would be required. If actual receipts were found to fall below expenditures, the President would be required to reduce appropriations made by Congress.

### ***Intergovernmental Highway Safety Plan Drafted***

The President's National Highway Safety Conference in May adopted a comprehensive nation-wide program for traffic safety, the importance of which is emphasized by the fact that traffic deaths in the first four months of 1946 were 10,770, an increase of 45 per cent over 1945 and only one per cent under the record, in 1941. The 1946 number for April, 2,650, was an all-time high for that month. The program includes establishment of: a coordinating committee for federal departments, national committee of state officials, national committee of non-official organizations, coordinating committee of officials in each state, state highway safety conferences to be called by the governors, statewide traffic safety organizations where none exist, and similar local activities.

All such organizations are urged to further the technical highway safety measures approved by the President's conference.

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 299.

---

 Researcher's Digest . . . . .
 

---

## Public Employee Salaries Reviewed

### *Research Bureaus Discuss Payrolls and Increases*

**D**EMANDS for salary increases for public employees are under discussion in most communities these days and research bureaus are, of course, coping with the problem.

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research reports that recommendations by that city's superintendent of schools and teacher groups for a \$500 yearly increase will add an estimated \$1,556,000 annually to school costs and "result in a salary hundreds of dollars per year higher than any salary paid by the other jurisdictions in the state for similar work." The bureau submitted to the Board of Education the results of its study of teachers' salaries in several California cities which disclosed that present San Francisco salary schedules have higher maximums than any other system in the state and, with two exceptions, have the highest starting salaries. A table published in a recent bureau bulletin makes comparisons between San Francisco, Los Angeles, Long Beach, Richmond and Alameda.

The San Francisco bureau, of which Alfred F. Smith is director, reports also that the Civil Service Commission now has before it demands by city and county employees which will cost between two and three millions a year.

The Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce commends the action of the city's Board of School Commissioners increasing teachers' salaries by an average of \$272 per year at a total

additional cost of about \$570,000. After study of the problem the bureau concluded that increases are advisable "to promote a higher standard of public education." In addition to granting individual increases, the school commission has raised the minimum and maximum salary schedules. Carl R. Dortch is bureau director.

According to the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, William C. Beyer, director, collections of delinquent school taxes were so good during the first quarter of the current year that the Philadelphia Board of Public Education "felt warranted in increasing the year's estimated revenue receipts by \$500,000 and authorizing additional salary increments for teachers and other employees. Increases have been made in both minimum and maximum salary limits.

The Municipal, County Research and Taxation Committee of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce has prepared for the City Council a *Study of Proposed Salary Increases in the Zanesville, Ohio, Police and Fire Departments as Based on the Average Compensation Adjustment Formula* (six pages). The committee estimates that the proposed blanket increase of 25 per cent will increase police and fire payrolls an estimated \$16,800 annually without correcting present inequalities in compensation. Such an increase is unreasonable, it declares. Several tables make comparisons of Zanesville police and fire department salaries with those in other Ohio cities. Director of research of the chamber is Robert E. Layton.

The Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon, in cooperation with the League of Oregon Cities, has issued its annual

*Salary Rates of Officials in 128 Oregon Cities.* Five tables set forth salaries of the various communities divided according to population—under 500, 500-1000, 1000-2500, 2500-5000, over 5000. Noting the difficulties facing cities in replacing personnel leaving for higher wages in private industry, the bureau emphasizes the desirability of a more systematic development of municipal salary plans in the larger cities. The first step, says the bureau, should be "standardization, based on the type of work and the skill and ability required in each position." The second step recommended is the adoption of a program for increasing or reducing basic salaries on the basis of cost of living changes or general salary fluctuations in the community. Herman Kehrli is director of the bureau.

In discussing the 1946-47 school budget for **Providence**, the **Governmental Research Bureau** of that city (Robert E. Pickup, executive director) points to a \$47,000 estimated increase in salaries and wages but states that, according to the superintendent's budget statement, this increase "is due almost entirely to the inclusion of the salaries of teachers who will return from military service."

### **Texas Bureau Compiles Planning Laws**

Taking note of the fact that officials and interested citizens have indicated a need for a new compilation of state laws in the planning, housing and related fields, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** has issued *Texas Planning, Zoning, Housing, Park and Airport Laws* (91 pages). In his foreword, Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the bureau, calls attention to the fact that "in most instances only legislation of a general nature has been included." In a few instances, such as airport zoning,

where a special law exists and there is no comparable general law, the special law is included. Statutes appearing in the compilation were selected by E. A. Wood, Dallas planning engineer; E. E. McAdams, executive director, and C. C. Crutchfield, field consultant, of the League of Texas Municipalities; and Wilfred D. Webb of the bureau.

### **New Research Publications Cover Many Problems**

*Organized Citizen Concern with Government* (32 pages, 25 cents), by Lent D. Upson, dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work of Wayne University, is the second of the **Governmental Research Association's** special pamphlet series. The text is Dr. Upson's address before the annual conference of the association in December. G. Gordon Tegnell is secretary of the association.

*A Comparison of Seattle and Tacoma Garbage Systems* (five pages) has been made by the **Municipal League of Seattle**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, for its City Utilities and Services Committee.

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey**, Edward Staples, executive director, prepared *The Reconversion Problem in State Government Finance* (24 pages) to give legislators a broad view of Missouri revenue trends in recent years so that problems of reconversion might be considered in time for proper planning.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington** and the Association of Washington Cities have issued a joint report (eighteen pages) covering municipal research and services for the years from May 1944 to May 1946. Director of the bureau is Donald H. Webster.

*Reorganizing the Congress* (twelve pages), a Research Bureau report of

the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce** (Leonard P. Fox, general secretary) summarizes the March 4 report of the LaFollette-Monroney Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress as a service to its members.

William J. Parish, assistant professor of economics and business administration at the University of New Mexico, is author of *The New Mexico State Budget System* (24 pages), third publication of the newly created **Division of Research** (Thomas C. Donnelly, director) of the university's **Department of Government**.

*Research in Action* is the latest of a series of reports issued by **Future Springfield, Inc.** (Massachusetts), of which Sherman P. Voorhees is executive director. The 28-page pamphlet tells of the work of the organization during its first year with pictures and text. It is attractively illustrated and impressively printed in colors.

Two issues of the *P. E. L. Newsletter for Western Pennsylvania* are devoted to "A New Distribution of State Aid to Schools—How School Districts and Teachers Will Fare Under Act 403" and "The County Bond Issue—the Pennsylvania Economy League Says 'Yes'." League director is Leslie J. Reese.

Recent publications of the **Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council** (J. F. Isakoff, director) include *County Zoning Ordinances in Illinois* (21 pages), *Assessment Ratios* (26 pages), *Absentee Voting by Civilians* (21 pages), as well as the Council's *Annual Report for 1945* (37 pages).

The sixteenth annual issue of *Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore* (fifteen pages), has been compiled and issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**, whose director is D. Benton Biser.

Police protection concerns the **Research Department of the Zanesville**

**Chamber of Commerce**. In its *Research Brevities*, a chart shows the number of persons protected by one patrolman for Zanesville and eight other Ohio cities. Zanesville is at the bottom of the list, with 1388 persons per policeman as compared with the FBI standard of 900. "Increased revenue which the city is seeking," says the bulletin, "is designed to strengthen the police department by four employees," bringing the Zanesville rate down to 1210 persons per patrolman.

Another Zanesville chamber publication is *The Administration of the Civil Service Commission in Zanesville, Ohio* (14 pages). The purpose of the report "is to bring to the attention of the concerned city officials the several things which can be done to make the Zanesville civil service comply with city charter provisions, function with greater efficiency and bring a greater degree of merit selectivity for civil service employees."

Recommendations to the Civil Service Commission cover such matters as meetings of the commission, temporary appointments, position qualifications, tenure rights, efficiency records, determination of competitive and noncompetitive positions, reinstatement to eligible lists, and superannuation.

---

### Child Care Probed

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** (George L. Nichols, director), has drawn up a summary of "pertinent facts dealing with Schenectady's child care program," i.e., day care of small children whose parents are not available because of employment, illness or incapacity. It has published its statement in *Research Brevities*. The Board of Directors of the bureau suggests to the City Council that a study be made of questions involved. Since federal aid was discontinued in February of this year, the

city must now decide whether to continue the program on an emergency welfare basis. Costs per child amount to about \$533 a year; total costs per year are \$144,000.

\* \* \*

### Civic Groups Scrutinize Budget

Ten local civic organizations in Detroit cooperated this year in studying the city's budget during the process of its adoption and signed a letter to Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., asking "serious consideration of underlying factors." The letter is reproduced by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research in its *Bureau Notes*. It is signed by the **Bondholders Management Inc., Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit Real Estate Board, Michigan Public Expenditure Survey, Building Owners & Managers Association, Business Property Association, Detroit Citizens League, Realty Owners and Operators Association, and Taxpayers Council of Wayne County.**

\* \* \*

### Change in Name

By action of the Board of Regents of the University of Washington, the Bureau of Governmental Research has now become the **Bureau of Public Administration**. The new bureau continues all the responsibilities of the old, functioning within the Department of Political Science as a research, fact-finding and service agency in the field of state and local government. Special emphasis will be placed on municipal government and administration. Donald H. Webster is director.

\* \* \*

### Assistant to the Mayor

"Dusting off an old one," the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** again suggests an administrative man-

ager or administrative assistant to the mayor for the city of Detroit. "We still think the plan merits consideration," says *Bureau Notes*, "because it has become increasingly needed. The plan stems from the simple fact that it is absurd in a business the size of Detroit to focus the amount of responsibility we do . . . in the position of mayor and provide no direct administrative assistance at that point of centralized responsibility. . . . No mayor with the demands upon him can maintain an adequate appraisal of the continuing quality of administration except as it becomes extreme. No mayor, even though he may attempt to unravel conflicts and to make necessary administrative decisions, can adequately inform himself on the background of each such situation." Loren B. Miller is the bureau's director.

\* \* \*

### Public Welfare Organization

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**, directed by W. Earl Weller, published in its monthly bulletin a comprehensive discussion of the New York State welfare law, commonly referred to as the Ostertag law, enacted by the 1946 state legislature. According to the article, the law is of great importance to local governments throughout the state. It is based on the recommendations of a special legislative committee and defines several basic changes in welfare procedures. It outlines five alternative systems integrating the welfare services of the city, towns and county and makes November 15 the last date by which cities and counties may choose the system under which they will operate. The study outlines the various provisions of the law and explains the optional forms of reorganization.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See also page 377, this issue.

---

Citizen Action . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

---

## Teen-agers Active in Georgia Campaign

### *University Plans Course for Teachers of Civics*

A REPORT by George Hatcher to the *New York Times* comments that in Georgia, the only state permitting eighteen-year-olds to vote, thousands of eighteen-, nineteen- and twenty-year-olds are eager to use their new suffrage rights.

Groups in colleges and universities are debating political issues, straw votes are being taken, students have organized voters' leagues at Georgia Tech, the University of Georgia and other schools to stimulate interest in politics and government, encourage registration and plan "get-out-the-vote" campaigns.

Because of the tremendous political interest among students the Georgia Board of Regents has declared primary day a holiday for the sixteen institutions of the state's university system so that students may return to their homes to vote. It has been estimated that better than 90 per cent of the students eligible will vote.

### **Connecticut University Plans Teachers Civics Course**

Governor Raymond E. Baldwin and Chief Justice William H. Maltbie will head a distinguished faculty assembled by the **University of Connecticut** for a special one-week course on state and local government to be given at the university this summer for Connecticut social studies teachers.

The course will begin July 29. It has been planned by the university's Institute of Public Service in cooperation with the **Connecticut Social Studies**

**Teachers Association** and the university's School of Education.

Governor Baldwin will speak on the duties and functions of the state executive; Chief Justice Maltbie will be discussion leader in a session on the administration of justice in the state.

Other state government officials to participate will include Superior Court Judge Howard W. Alcorn; James B. Lowell, state commissioner of finance; E. Lea Marsh, speaker of the House of Representatives; Robert Weir, state budget director; Charles McKew Parr, chairman of the House Committee on Public Information; and Nicholas J. Spellman, state senator.

From local governments and related agencies will be Carter W. Atkins, executive director, and Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; Roger S. Baldwin, of the Greenwich Board of Taxation and Apportionment; Phillip E. Curtiss, presiding officer of the Assembly of Trial Justices of the state; and Judge Russell Z. Johnston of Hartford.

University faculty members participating are: P. Roy Brammell, dean of the School of Education; W. Harrison Carter, head of the Department of Economics; and Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the Institute of Public Service.

Enrollment is open to teachers of social studies and to any other persons who are interested in increasing their knowledge in the field of Connecticut government.

### **Seattle League Opens County Charter Campaign**

King County government is under the microscope of the **Seattle Municipal League** (C. A. Crosser, executive

secretary) and its bulletin, the *Seattle Municipal News*.

At the league's 36th annual banquet Brigadier General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer and "modernizer" of Los Angeles County, spoke on "Streamlined County Government." The banquet was the "send-off" in the league's campaign to promote a county home rule charter at the 1947 legislature. "He's the spark-plug we need in our program to rejuvenate King County's government," said Forest Watson, chairman of the banquet committee, of General Allen.

Headlines in the *Municipal News* announce "County Faces Deficit of \$300,000 This Year," "County Planning Commission Top-Heavy," "County 'Emergency' Rapped by League," "\$400,000 Deficit Faces County Hospitals." Under the title "Tale of Two Counties" comparisons are made of King and Los Angeles Counties on organization, elections, officials, finance, purchasing, employees, and taxation procedure.

### **Tennessee Women Voters Back Constitutional Revision**

"Tennessee has the oldest unamended constitution in the United States," says the **Tennessee League of Women Voters** in its latest publication, *Tennessee Needs a New Constitution* (20 pages). "It has not been changed so much as a comma since it was adopted in 1870—76 years ago. And at that time very few changes were made in the constitution of 1834." The pamphlet lists the members of the Constitutional Revision Committee appointed by Governor Jim McCord on authorization of the 1945 General Assembly. It discusses needed revisions in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government and in the state's taxation system. It points the necessity for city and county home rule,

the merit system, abolition of the poll tax, and revision of the amending process. A list of references is included for those seeking further information on the subject. Mrs. Tom Ragland of Chattanooga is president of the organization.

### **Citizen Planning Groups In Action**

"What's on the slate for Greater Cincinnati's Future?" queries the **Citizens Planning Association of Greater Cincinnati** in an attractive sixteen-page publication. The pamphlet is trimmed in blue and illustrated with cartoons featuring "Miss Cincinnati" as a pert lady of approximately six. "Start in your own back yard," advises the association. "See what your home and neighborhood needs are. . . . Consult the Citizens Planning Association, the City Planning Commission and others working on the job. Start now!"

The same group publishes *Planning and Development News*, a recent issue of which discusses public transit problems. Walton R. L. Taylor is executive secretary of the association.

Seventeen committees of the **Omaha Mayor's City-wide Planning Committee**, made up of 188 civic-minded men and women, have outlined a program of major postwar improvements for the city. In *The American City* for May, Arthur W. Johnson describes the work of the committees and the results of their studies. Their report to Mayor Charles W. Leeman lists projects totaling nearly \$44,000,000 which have been divided into three categories: those considered urgent totaled \$16,600,000; necessary, \$11,600,000; desirable, \$15,500,000. Committee members contributed some 16,500 hours of time during the six months devoted to the problem. Russell J. Hopley, president of the Northwestern Bell Telephone

Company, was in charge of activities. The Mayor's Committee was created to broaden plans, some of which were already contemplated by the City Planning Commission which aided in the committee's activities; to speed preparation of postwar public works; and to secure the interest of a large group of citizens in the promotion of civic improvements.

Mayor Leeman reports that his next step will be to select a group of citizens to explain the plan to the public and to urge support of a bond issue.

The committee's report covered civic, fraternal, religious, hospital and educational projects as well as those of business and industrial groups. It recommended that the City Council also consider them so that a proper labor balance be maintained over a period of years.

The *Citizens' Bulletin* of the **Citizens' Association of Chicago**, in an article "To Rebuild the Municipal Plant," discusses the recently proposed seven-year program of city development for fulfillment of the city's master plan. The report was made by the Engineering Board of Review appointed by Mayor Kelly in 1943 to study plans for improvement submitted by city agencies, aldermen and civic groups, "measuring their value against six requirements specified by the Mayor: the public benefit, agreement with the master plan, financial timeliness, the housing situation, the cost as against the benefits derived and feasibility of financing." Edward M. Martin is the association's executive secretary.

### **Chicago City Club Committees Make Reports**

The Education Committee of the **Chicago City Club** urges a critical examination of the Chicago Plan Commission's proposed \$30,000,000 program of reconstruction and expansion for

schools. It suggests that a serious and careful restudy of the structure and program of the schools and their relationship to their communities be undertaken without delay. The committee has also made recommendations on the methods of selecting members of the Chicago School Board. Walker M. Alderton is chairman of the committee.

The club's Taxation Committee recommended a "no" vote on all six city bond issues, as did other civic groups. It pointed out that the June 3 election was an uncontested judicial election, that the vote would be extremely light, and that the bond issues should be re-submitted at the November election when a representative vote may be obtained.

The club's Public Health Committee (Dr. E. A. Piszczek, chairman) points to the increasing danger of rabies as a result of dogs running at large and urges a better dog licensing program.

### **Plea for Citizen Education in the Schools**

In its bulletin, *Just a Moment*, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, Sidney Detmers, managing director, asks that the schools take steps to teach young people the practical aspects of citizenship. Here are some excerpts from its article on "Education for Citizenship":

"Juvenile delinquency is receiving widespread publicity. To combat it, new and enlarged programs of recreation and education for youth are being proposed and put into effect. Erie County has established a Youth Bureau, the city is sponsoring a recreation project and the schools are endeavoring, through Parent-Teacher groups, to educate parents. Yet neither official nor educator has mentioned one of the most important phases in community development pertaining to youth—education in local citizenship. . . .

"To become an engineer, doctor, lawyer, merchant, school teacher, or work at any other job in later life, one must be educated for it. In a nation whose government is 'of the people, for the people and by the people,' there is an over-all job that belongs to all of us, namely to discharge the duties of citizenship no matter what we do to make a living. That job also demands educational preparation. It is the responsibility of adult citizens to see that younger generations receive this citizenship education. And the most obvious means by which this can and should be accomplished is our schools. . . .

"Buffalo can ill afford to overlook this lack. The future progress of our city will be wholly dependent upon how well informed and educated for citizenship our people are. And one long stride toward filling the need would be to require a full year's course in local government and history, preferably during the senior year in high school. Municipal government is no longer the simple setup of years ago. Today the people are called upon to decide such extremely important matters as a pay-as-you-go system, a throughway, a merger of libraries, to mention no others. What problems the citizens of fifteen or twenty years hence may be confronted with are, in some cases, beyond prediction. Suffice it to say, the responsibility rests squarely on us today to prepare them for it. To sum it all up, what good is it for our youth to have perfect grammar, know Shakespeare and work algebraic formulae, if they don't understand and, more important, don't care about local democratic government and its influence on our whole future existence as a nation?"

#### Other Side of the Picture

The Board of Township Commissioners of Nether Providence, Pennsylvania,

a township not far from Philadelphia, announces that its first report on governmental activities was prepared by the pupils of the Nether Providence High School with the cooperation of the Parent-Teacher Association. The report, issued late in 1945, covers the calendar year 1944.

Pupils gathered the information necessary for the report from township officials and wrote the material, which was then edited and checked. The front cover was designed by the pupils and in some cases completion of graphs and charts was done by them.

---

#### Working at Democracy

"Citizens will die for democracy," said Charles Edison, former governor of New Jersey, in a recent address, "pay taxes for it and give their blood for its soldiers. But vote? Work at democracy? It takes a revolution or a miracle to arouse them. They are convinced that democracy is better than despotism, and they will send their sons to fight dictators on any continent and on every sea; but in their own states and cities they will allow domestic dictators to fasten themselves upon our institutions and to enrich themselves at public expense. . . .

"To join societies for world organization and to listen to learned lecturers on the populations of the Balkans are all right; but it is no substitute for knowing about the problems of one's own city, county and state. There is not much that you and I can do about the Ruthenians or the Koreans . . . but we can pull our weight in our own boat here at home. We can throw our influence toward the nomination and election of honest and forward-looking men right here. We can see that democracy works in America. Effective citizenship is active citizenship."

### City Income Tax

The **Municipal League of Toledo**, of which Ronald E. Gregg is executive secretary, is issuing a series of *Municipal League Bulletin* discussions on the city's recently adopted income tax. Adoption of the tax is not a "magic wand that causes all city problems to vanish," says the first of the series on the "Distribution of City Income Tax Revenue for the Several Purposes Provided by Law." "It does not automatically and immediately solve all the city's financial problems. Rather it brings new ones."

\* \* \*

### Group Circulates Petitions

With its May issue of *What's What in Local Government*, the **Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri**, enclosed a petition seeking appointment of a commission to draft a new charter for Buchanan County. "Our only, and extremely troublesome, adversary is the indifference of the citizen," says the bulletin in urging members to secure as many signatures to the petition as possible. Henry Rolfes, Jr., is executive secretary.

\* \* \*

### In a Lighter Vein

Handlebar Ranch was the scene of a picnic held by the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** (Forest Frank, executive secretary) on June 6. It was a "no-speech-making, no-money-raising, just-for-the-fun-of-it picnic," with the Young Charterites in charge of entertainment. A swimming party for the Young Charterites is promised for July.

\* \* \*

### Tax Glossary

**Tax Facts—A Glossary of Tax Terms** (twenty pages), issued by the **Ohio League of Women Voters**, seeks not only to define tax terms but also to aid Mr. Average Citizen to get rid of his "tax allergies" by pointing the need for taxes as payment for services re-

ceived. The league was aided in its preparation of the pamphlet—"by amateurs for amateurs"—by Professor Donovan Emch of the University of Toledo. Mrs. Charles Bang is president.

\* \* \*

### Civic Activities Folder

*Working for You* is the title of an interesting folder issued by the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary. Tucked into pockets of the folder are five-by-seven sheets each describing one of the groups affiliated with the council and listing its officials. Where an organization such as the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association has numerous activities, separate sheets describe each. It's a handy gadget to have on hand if someone inquires as to what's what in the Minneapolis civic field.

\* \* \*

### A Pat on the Back

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey** congratulates that state's legislature on the constitutional revision legislation enacted thus far this session. The legislature "has earned the plaudits of Missouri's citizenry for its accomplishment in reorganizing the state government as authorized by the 1945 constitution," says *Your Tax Money*, published by the survey. "No legislature ever faced a greater task. While the lawmakers themselves do not claim that perfection was achieved, the results generally are most gratifying."

\* \* \*

### Taxation Figures

Walter L. Pierpoint, president and manager of the **Association of Omaha Taxpayers**, has issued "Some Facts and Figures on Taxation for 1945." Results of the 1945 legislative session are reported; tax, assessment and other figures for Omaha and Douglas County in 1946 are listed.

(Continued on Page 388)

**Proportional Representation**

. . . Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**P. R. Elections  
in Many Lands*****France Votes Second Time  
Italy Goes Back to P. R.***

**E**LECTIONS in several countries in the last six or eight months furnish interesting evidence on the operation of various forms of proportional representation and may incidentally serve to lay a few ghosts in the perennial arguments for or against P.R.

The second P.R. election in France on June 2, under the same party list system as used in the election last October, confirms the significant fact that today under P.R. there is in France a far greater concentration of political strength in a few major parties than at any time in the last several decades under the single-member-district system. Such circumstances in the wake of the adoption of P. R. are

by no means exceptional.<sup>1</sup>

As elected in 1936 under the single-member-district system, the Chamber of Deputies, comprising some 600 members, included eight party groups with more than 25 members and six smaller organized groups, as well as a number of independent members. The eight largest groups including a few non-member affiliates numbered respectively 156, 117, 72, 56, 43, 36, 28 and 27 deputies.

The results (Table I) of the post-war elections in metropolitan France (including Corsica but excluding North Africa—making a total of 522 seats) show the three largest parties controlling about 80 per cent of the seats instead of the 57 per cent obtained by the three largest parties in 1936.

The French experience clearly indicates that whatever the cause may

<sup>1</sup>See Daniels, *The Case for Electoral Reform*, London, 1937.

TABLE I  
FRENCH ELECTION OF OCTOBER 21, 1945

Party	Votes	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Popular Republican (MRP)	4,580,222	23.9	143	27.4
Communist	5,004,121	26.2	143	27.4
Socialist	4,491,152	23.5	130	24.9
Rightist groups	2,886,095	15.1	79	15.2
Radicals and other left	2,018,665	10.6	27	5.2
Others	125,785	0.06	0	0

FRENCH ELECTION OF JUNE 2, 1946

Popular Republican (MRP)	5,589,213	28.2	160	30.7
Communist	5,145,325	26.0	142	27.2
Socialist	4,187,747	21.1	115	22.0
PRL and other right	2,526,872	12.8	67	12.8
Radicals and other left	2,299,963	11.6	38	7.3
Others	56,840	0.03	0	0

TABLE II—ITALIAN ELECTIONS, JUNE 2, 1946

Party	Votes	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Christian Democrat	7,876,874	35.4	207	37.2
Socialist	4,606,509	20.7	115	20.7
Communist	4,204,741	18.9	104	18.7
Democratic Union	1,486,277	6.7	41	7.6
Uomo Qualunque	1,164,152	5.2	30	5.4
Smaller parties	2,919,926	13.2	59	10.6

be for the failure of any party to obtain a majority of seats, it is not P. R. since parliamentary division was substantially greater under the single-member-district system. And in Norway and Greece majority parties appeared under similar systems of proportional representation.<sup>3</sup>

The system used in the French elections does not provide for adjustments to make it fully "proportional" on a nation-wide basis, although the deviation from nation-wide proportionality is small as the tabulated percentages above show. Proportional representation is applied separately within election districts which have between four and nine seats each. Seats are allotted to each department on the basis of the 1936 census, with the proviso that each shall be allotted at least two seats. Departments entitled to more than nine seats are divided into districts.

#### Italian Elections

The Italian election of June 2 produced even more concentration of power in the three largest parties than the French election of the same date. A party list system of P. R. was used. It was more strictly proportional than that used in France, however, since it

permitted combination of "remainder" votes across district lines after the distribution of those seats that could be awarded on a full quotient basis. In Table II the popular vote totals are based on returns from 34,046 out of 35,236 precincts, but the distribution of seats represents final results.

A party list system of P. R. had been used in Italy just once in 1919—shortly before the advent of Mussolini and too late to affect fundamentally the tragic course of events already in motion. It is significant that Mussolini promptly abolished P. R. and that a democratic new Italy took the first opportunity to bring it back. Without P. R. and with three large parties there would inevitably have been a distortion of electoral justice which would have subjected the new republic to a severe strain.<sup>4</sup>

#### Election in Belgium

A pattern of two major parties and two substantial minor parties was established by the February 17 election in Belgium several months ago. Only in the lower house are the seats allocated proportionally to the vote. The Senate includes some members elected by provincial councils and a few ex officio and appointed persons. With the balance of power very close at present, the difference in constitution of the two houses is expected to cause

<sup>3</sup>The Norwegian election was reported in this department for November 1945, page 517. Note also the clear parliamentary and electoral majority of the largest party in Eire, where the Hare system of proportional representation is used.

<sup>4</sup>See this department for November 1944, page 558.

TABLE III—BELGIUM ELECTIONS, FEBRUARY 17, 1946

Party	Votes <sup>a</sup>	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Catholic Social (PSC)	1,006,293	42.6	92	45.5
Socialist	775,121	32.7	69	34.2
Communist	300,099	12.7	23	11.4
Liberal	220,604	9.3	17	8.4
Belgian Democratic Union	51,095	0.5	1	0.5

<sup>a</sup>In this tabulation the 37,844 votes which were polled by a joint Socialist and Liberal ticket were divided in the same proportion in which the parties divided the four seats obtained and added to the individual party totals, in order to simplify the presentation.

a certain amount of political backing and filling. The results for the lower house are tabulated in Table III.

Unlike the French system and the pre-1933 German system, which required the voter to vote for an entire party list with no opportunity to change the order of preference among candidates established by the party, the Belgian system does permit the voter to indicate an individual preference within the list. Those who do not mark such a preference have their votes counted to fill up the quotas of the first candidates in the order of listing. In the Brussels district, which at the recent election chose 30 members of the lower house, approximately 30 per cent of the ballots carried individual preferences.

This device used in Belgium is but a grudging modification of strictures

imposed upon the voter's choice by the party list method of proportional representation, as compared with the complete freedom of the voter to indicate his own order of preference among candidates under the Hare system (the form of P. R. used in English-speaking countries). The system used in the Netherlands gives more weight to individual preferences than does the Belgian system and the Norwegian system goes still farther.

#### Netherlands

The Netherlands, like Belgium, is ruled by a two-house parliamentary system, and the balance of power resulting from the recent election has been close enough to make the difference between the political complexion of the two houses a significant factor in government. The results of the elec-

TABLE IV—NETHERLANDS ELECTIONS, MAY 17, 1946

Party <sup>a</sup>	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Catholic People's	30.81	32	32
Labor	28.31	29	29
Anti-Revolutionary	12.90	13	13
Communist	10.57	10	10
Christian Historic	7.84	8	8
Freedom	6.41	6	6
State Reformed	2.14	2	2

<sup>a</sup>Three other parties drew less than one per cent of the votes and obtained no seats.

TABLE V—CZECHOSLOVAKIAN ELECTIONS, MAY 26, 1946

<i>Party</i>	<i>Per Cent Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>	<i>Per Cent Seats</i>
Czech Communist	31.07	93	31.
Slovak Communist	6.91	21	7.
National Socialist	18.30	55	18.3
Peoples	15.65	46	15.3
Democratic	13.92	43	14.33
Social Democratic	12.05	37	12.33
Liberty	0.95	3	1.
Labor	0.7	2	0.7

tion of the lower house, conducted by a list system of proportional representation, are given in Table IV. The total poll was 4,760,202. According to Dutch practice, the entire country formed a single electoral district.

#### Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia a single-chamber constitutional assembly of 300 members was elected on May 26 by a party list system of proportional representation, with adjustments to make the nation-wide result strictly proportional. Such an electoral system was used in Czechoslovakia before the war. Slightly more than 7,000,000 votes were cast, with the results given in Table V.

It is to be noted that the Democratic party polled over 60 per cent of the vote in Slovakia and obtained a corresponding proportion of the seats from that section. On certain questions a concurring majority vote of the Slovak members is necessary.

#### Greece

A single-chamber parliament was elected for Greece by proportional representation on March 31. The Populist party and its National Liberal affiliates obtained a comfortable majority, with 58 per cent of the seats. The election was marked by abstention of the Communists and other leftists, which was carried out as a matter of

political tactics for reasons not generally apparent to the rest of the world. The Allied Commission for Observing the Greek Elections estimated that the leftist parties would have obtained about 20 per cent of the votes (and of the seats) if their adherents had not abstained. In such an event the closely cooperating Populist and National Liberal groups would not have obtained a majority by themselves, but the general outcome would have been much the same since that group would still have controlled by far the largest single bloc of votes and could easily find allies in various other conservative groups.

As in some of the Greek elections before the war, a party list system of P. R. was used. Related popular vote and parliamentary division statistics are not readily available in this country, but the makeup of the parliament has been made public. Somewhat more than a million votes were cast. Contrary to the practice in other postwar European elections, women did not vote. The 354 seats went to five distinct political groups and three independent candidates. The Populist and National Liberal groups took 206 seats and the four other parties took 68, 48, 20 and 9 respectively.

WM. REDIN WOODWARD  
New York

## County and Township

. . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

## Fulton County Voters Demand Manager Plan

### *Commission Will Appoint Committee to Draft Bill*

AT THE Democratic primaries of June 4 the voters of Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, voted 24,610 to 11,377 on the question, "Do you favor a county manager form of government." The two-to-one majority is a mandate to the legislature for passage of an enabling act. Atlanta newspapers have given strong support to the manager movement, which has been recommended by the last ten Grand Juries.<sup>1</sup>

Commenting on the election results, the *Atlanta Constitution* said: "Most gratifying of all, however, was the overwhelming vote in favor of installation of a county manager form of government. . . . The people undeniably now have expressed themselves whole-heartedly in favor of a county manager. . . . Certainly, it seems to us, citizens of Fulton County will be fully justified in voting against any legislative candidate who attempts to weaken or nullify the county manager program."

The *Atlanta Journal* said editorially: "Especially significant is the overwhelming majority of votes for the proposed county manager form of government. Now that the people have spoken decisively on this matter Fulton's delegation to the General Assembly should see to it that the proper legislation is enacted at the earliest opportunity."

In compliance with the vote, the Fulton County Board of Commissioners has authorized appointment of a committee of five to draft a manager

bill, with the aid of the county auditor and attorney, for introduction at the next session of the legislature. "The people have spoken emphatically in favor of a county manager," said Commissioner Hailey, who made the motion for a committee, "and I'm sure that they want a county manager in fact and not in name. This committee should be able to steer the legislators so that Fulton County will have an executive such as the people have in mind."

The commission approved a motion that the League of Women Voters, who have actively supported the manager movement, as well as other civic groups, be notified and consulted on the plan.

### *Home Rule Urged for St. Louis County*

In support of the campaign for a home rule charter for St. Louis County, Missouri, the Governmental Research Institute at St. Louis has issued a sixteen-page brochure entitled, "A Home Rule Charter for St. Louis County." It constitutes a collection of articles previously printed in the institute's regularly-issued publications. The articles analyze the home rule provisions pertaining to counties in New York and California and to Henrico County, Virginia, describe the multifarious governments in St. Louis County, and present arguments for a modernized system of government in the latter county.

### *Washington County Home Rule Campaign Continues*

The Municipal League of Seattle is continuing its campaign for home rule in King County, Washington. It will support a bill to accomplish this objective in the 1947 legislature. As re-

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW for June, page 320.

ported on page 366 of this issue, at its annual banquet held recently it featured an address, "Streamlined County Government," by Brigadier General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County, California.

### ***Wisconsin Interim Committee Plans Legislative Report***

The Joint Interim Committee, provided by action of the 1945 Wisconsin legislative session to investigate the problem of county government in that state and report to the 1947 legislature, is expected to begin drafting its recommendations after its July hearing. Capitol reporters indicate two possible directions which the recommendations may take. The committee may submit a series of proposals aimed at solving some of the conditions which can be changed by legislative action under the present basic structure, or it may submit broader recommendations aimed at revising the whole constitutional basis of county government organization and function.

For ten or more years proposals have been made to amend the Wisconsin constitution to permit establishment of optional forms of county government and the selection of administrative officers by appointment. The constitution now provides for a uniform system of town and county government and for the election of certain administrative officers.

None of these proposals was ever successful in passing two consecutive sessions of the Wisconsin legislature as is required before the proposal may be submitted to the voters for approval. The 1943 legislature passed a resolution providing for optional forms of county government but the 1945 legislature refused to approve it. The latter session did, however, provide for the joint interim committee.

The committee, appointed by the governor, is composed of three senators, five assemblymen and five lay citizens. Legislative members of the committee are Senators Jess Miller of Richland Center, chairman of the County Highway Committee and Mediation Board; Frank E. Panzer of Oakfield, member of the Dodge County board since 1925, its present chairman, and president of the Wisconsin County Boards Association; William H. McKnight of Unity, member of the Marathon County board and formerly its chairman; and Assemblymen Hugh Harper of Lancaster, formerly chairman of Grant County board; Palmer F. Daus of Lake Mills, sponsor of bills for county consolidation, nonpartisan election of county administrative officials, county reorganization and other local improvements; Pat W. Brunner of Lyndon Station; Guy Benson of Spooner, member of Washburn County board for twelve years, alderman and mayor of Spooner and a member of the Spooner Board of Education since 1920; and John R. Devitt of Milwaukee.

The citizen members of the committee are Mrs. John Wise and Miss Ruth Jeffris, both active in the League of Women Voters; Glen McGrath, associated with the Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey; Leo Tieffenthaler, secretary of the Milwaukee City Club; and Lorenz Adolfson of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, formerly a member of the Political Science Department of the university.

The committee held several meetings in Madison and one in Milwaukee. Individuals identified with various phases of Wisconsin county government have testified before it. At least one more meeting is contemplated at which the recommendations of county boards will be heard. Proposals to reorganize the structure of county gov-

ernment, provide for county home rule, establish a coordinating finance officer, abolish the fee system, consolidate administrative boards, provide for appointive administrative officials, reorganize the basis of representation on the county board, and provide for the partisan election of county board members are among the suggestions made.

Wisconsin has in effect at least three types of problems in county government: that of the metropolitan Milwaukee area, that of the larger more prosperous counties and that of the poorer counties of the north and western portion of the state. The committee is confronted not only with solving the immediate problems of the diversified areas but also of anticipating possible developments of the next three-quarters of a century. It has been that long since county government in Wisconsin was established in its present form.

C. K. ALEXANDER, *Research Director*  
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

### **Fulton County Appoints Public Relations Committee**

The County Commission of Fulton County, Georgia, has appointed a public relations committee of three to inform, at no extra expense to the county, various civic organizations and the schools of county affairs. Those appointed include George Cornet of the County Police Identification Bureau, Rev. Bill Allison, county chaplain, and Harold Parker, director of parks and playgrounds.

### **New York Modernizes Health and Welfare Laws**

New York State, which has the reputation of possessing the most complicated local welfare system in the United States, has enacted legislation which constitutes the most extensive single

revision in the history of the 300-year-old system. It offers a number of optional systems of welfare administration to counties, but its purpose and net effect are centralization, integration and simplification in the county welfare offices.

The legislation will tend to eliminate some of the more than 900 local public welfare agencies administering home relief, veterans assistance, assistance to the blind, aid to dependent children, foster care of children, hospital care, care in public homes, other adult institutional care and burials. The proportion of costs of these programs borne by localities varied from 25 per cent to 100 per cent, but under the new legislation it will become fixed at 20 per cent. The specific plan adopted by any county will secure approval by the State Department of Social Welfare before it becomes effective.<sup>1</sup>

Changes in the public health laws include the provisions that localities can transfer any such institutions to the state with the latter's consent, that state aid to county health departments shall be increased to 75 per cent of the first \$100,000 and 50 per cent on expenditures above that amount, that state tuberculosis hospitals shall charge 50 per cent rather than 100 per cent of the cost of maintaining patients, with a maximum of \$2.50 per patient-day, and that state grants to county tuberculosis hospitals shall be 50 per cent of the cost but not exceeding \$2.50 per patient-day.

Special legislation for Erie County includes the transfer of the Meyer Memorial Hospital from Buffalo to the county, establishment of the office of medical director and substitution of the office of superintendent of penitentiary for the abolished office of commissioner of charities and correction.

<sup>1</sup>See also the June REVIEW, page 321.

### ***Road Centralization Continues in Kansas***

The trend toward county centralization of highways is continuing in the state of Kansas. Nine counties adopted the county unit system in 1944-45, raising the total of such counties in the state to 34. In addition, in the other counties some townships have entered into contracts with the counties whereby the latter provide maintenance, construction or improvement of township roads. Legislation authorizing such contractual arrangements was passed by the 1945 legislature.

---

### ***Western Counties Discuss Federal Tax-Exempt Property***

The Interstate Association of Public Land Counties has been organized to attack the problem of loss of county tax revenue because of acquisition of real estate by the federal government within the boundaries of such counties. At a meeting of the association held recently in Reno, Nevada, delegates of nine western states attended. It was revealed that since 1941 the federal government had acquired more than 8,000,000 acres of land, most of it located in the states represented at the meeting. It was generally agreed by the delegates that the payments made by the federal government to states and counties in lieu of taxes were inadequate and unsatisfactory. Numerous resolutions were adopted endorsing plans which would increase and stabilize state and local revenues from such tax-exempt property.

---

### ***Michigan County Abolishes Coroners***

The Oakland County, Michigan, Board of Supervisors recently voted to abolish the office of coroner in the

county. After January 1, 1947, the functions of the office will be performed by the health department.

---

### ***Wisconsin Rejects Sheriffs' Proposal***

The proposed constitutional amendment which would have removed the provision prohibiting sheriffs from serving two successive terms was rejected recently by Wisconsin voters by 170,131 negative votes as against 121,144 in favor of the plan. The proposal, which was supported by the Sheriffs' Association, previously had passed two successive sessions of the state legislature. Fifteen counties, all rural, of the state's 71, favored the change. Only 23 per cent of the eligible voters participated in the spring elections.

---

### ***School Centralization Proposed in Wisconsin***

Wisconsin associations of secondary and elementary school principals are reviving their attempts to centralize education by shifting control and responsibility upward to county, regional and state levels. The proposals which probably will be presented to the 1947 legislature include the establishment of county boards of education to provide administrative supervision of all public schools in the county.

---

### ***Methods of Lot Sales Revised by Wisconsin County***

Racine County, Wisconsin, has changed its methods of selling county lands acquired by tax deeds from public auction to sealed bids. No property, however, may be sold for less than the total cost of taxes, fees and penalties unless approved by the county board.

## Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

## U. S. Court Upholds State Property Classification

### *RFC Loses Suit Against Beaver County, Penna.*

**I**N A ruling handed down early in May, the United States Supreme Court held that a state classification of property for taxation is binding on federal agencies, even though it results in a classification not "uniform" throughout the country.

At issue was the right of a Pennsylvania county to tax ad valorem certain machinery installed in a war plant built and equipped by the government and leased to a private operator. Under Pennsylvania law the machinery was classified as part of the realty. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation contended the machinery was personalty, and as such exempt from local taxation under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act which permits state and local taxation of real property but not personal property held by the RFC and its subsidiaries. The act does not define "real property."

The Supreme Court held that the extent to which real property was taxable under the act was determined by the applicable state laws rather than by any uniform definition of real property, holding that had the Congress intended to provide a uniform definition it could have done so. Since the Pennsylvania courts included within the definition of real property all machinery essential to a manufactory, whether firmly affixed to the building or not, the federal law is to be interpreted accordingly in administering its provisions locally.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Reconstruction Finance Corporation v. Beaver County, Pennsylvania.*

## *Cities Increase Service Charges to Suburbs*

In order to help offset the rising cost of government, cities are increasing their charges for services to suburban residents.

San Francisco has boosted its rates for water to users outside the city limits on the ground that the city's residents alone bore the financial burden of acquiring the system. Further, the city has been paying taxes on its water lines outside its corporate limits.

St. Paul administrators recently proposed to raise charges for water, sewer and fire services outside the city.<sup>1</sup> Denver is engaged in a dispute with adjacent communities which have asked for city water but prefer not to be annexed to Denver, according to the American Municipal Association.

Boulder, Colorado, now charges users of city sewer connections outside its corporate limits exactly twice as much as it charges residents within the city. Its action amends a previous ordinance which made no distinction between sewer connection charges within the city limits and those outside.

Fire department fees for service to outlying communities have been doubled in Milwaukee. Under the new rate schedule a cash deposit of \$600 is required for fire protection to neighboring municipalities plus \$300 for the first hour of use and \$200 for each subsequent hour.

Smaller cities are also following this trend toward increased fire protective charges. Waukesha, Wisconsin, has authorized a new outside fire service contract with five neighboring towns at a rate of \$150 per call. The village of Hopkins, Minnesota, has increased the

<sup>1</sup>See "What Price Aid to Suburbs?", by Carl P. Herbert, the REVIEW, June 1946.

charge on outside fire department calls to \$25 for the first call, \$15 for the second and \$10 thereafter. St. Helens and Lebanon, Oregon, no longer allow use of their fire fighting equipment outside city limits.

### ***Incinerators Urged for Boston***

Boston's No. 1 postwar construction program—an incinerator system for disposal of the city's refuse—has apparently gone by the board in favor of retention of the half-century-old system of paying private contractors to collect and dump garbage and other refuse, according to a report to the Mayor and City Council by the Finance Commission of Boston, Edward F. Mullen, chairman.

Roundly condemning the present system as inadequate and subject to "charges of unsavory practices in the making of contracts . . . and with intimations of unwarranted and excessive cost" the commission states that "in no other city is there, proportionately, such a multitude of men and methods involved in the collection and disposal of refuse. In addition to city forces, there are ten operators having contracts with the city, nine for collecting refuse and the tenth for disposing of collections in part of the city, while a large number of private firms sell collection services directly to commercial establishments. Dumping areas are now at a premium, giving collectors now operating a virtual monopoly of the business, while in some sections the city has to provide dumping places for rubbish while the collectors retain the more lucrative disposal of garbage—mostly sold to pig farmers.

Contract prices for refuse collection increased from \$415,260 in 1941, according to the commission, to \$1,204,332 last year and an estimated \$1,291,440 for 1946. Total cost of refuse collection

and disposal is placed at approximately \$3,000,000 per year, a figure deemed excessive to the extent of over \$1,000,000.

Early in 1945 an appropriation was made and a contract let for the design of an incinerator, but the engineers' plans and estimates have become a center of administrative controversy and no provision for incinerators has been made in the budget which must contain a 10 per cent "down payment" for any project to be financed by borrowing.

The commission urges construction of a large incinerator near the city hospital, where heat and power by-products may be used for hospital facilities, and additional smaller plants at other points in the city to take care of the load and eliminate the present dependence on dumping.

With disposal methods assured, real competitive bidding for collection contracts might result, since individual contractors would not have certain areas sewed up by possession of the only available dumping grounds. "Such a use of the city's borrowing capacity has as much merit as any of the other projects now being provided for," the commission concludes, "and more than some of them."

### ***Los Angeles Adopts Sales Tax***

The Los Angeles City Council has adopted a one-half of one per cent retail sales tax.<sup>1</sup> Also adopted were several other revenue measures in the shape of license and occupation taxes. The sales tax is expected to yield about \$7,000,000 annually and the other charges \$1,600,000. Not enacted was a proposed cigarette tax of two cents per pack, estimated to produce \$4,000,000 annually.

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, May 1946, page 267.

The new sales tax went into effect May 11, and the first of the quarterly returns by retailers must be filed within 30 days from July 1. Failure to remit will entail a penalty of 10 per cent for the first month overdue, plus 5 per cent for each month up to 50 per cent.

While Los Angeles is the second largest city to impose a retail sales tax (New York City is the largest) there are already two smaller California places which have such imposts. San Bernardino and Santa Barbara have both levied one per cent retail sales taxes.

---

### ***Tax Exemptions Irk Municipalities***

Property now exempt from taxation because of ownership by the federal government, homesteaders, veteran groups and other organizations is being investigated by cities looking for new sources of revenue. Such property tax exemptions have removed almost a sixth of assessable real estate from tax rolls, says the Council of State Governments. New York City furnishes one extreme example. Valuation of exempt property there exceeds five billion dollars, more than 70 per cent of all exempt property in the state.

Federal property is exempt from taxation by statute or constitution in twelve states. All other states permit taxation of federal property which the federal government declares taxable. In some instances federal purchase of private property has resulted in substantial city revenue reduction. Hoboken, New Jersey, for example, lost an estimated \$12,000,000 during the last two decades because of federal purchase of the city's pier terminus, the sale reducing its taxable property by 14 per cent.

The federal government, in many

cases, compensates for its exemptions by payments in lieu of taxes. Such payments are being made to cities, for example, by tax-exempt federal housing projects.

Several bills have passed state legislatures recently exempting veterans and veteran organizations from certain property taxes. Twenty-one states exempt from taxation all veteran-owned property within certain limits of valuation. Property owned by the Grand Army of the Republic organization is exempt in 23 states while property owned by the Disabled American Veterans is exempt in 22 states.

### **Homestead Exemption**

Homesteads—land on which the owner lives—are exempt from taxation in thirteen states. In several cities homestead lands are rising rapidly. In De Land, Florida, exemptions of this type increased from 21 to 31 per cent in the last decade. It has been predicted that by 1959, if the present trend continues, De Land homestead exemption value will amount to 50 per cent of the gross assessed value of all property in the city.

Industrial property exemptions are granted in some states, especially in the south, to attract new industry. Georgia's law exempting industries from property taxes during their first five years was discontinued last year, however, and Florida's industrial exemption law will end in 1948. Similar exemptions are granted to stimulate agriculture. Twenty-four states subsidize agricultural associations by granting them tax exemptions while sixteen states exempt certain agricultural products from taxation.

Religious, educational and charitable institutions are exempt from property taxes in all states. In New Jersey institutional exemptions account for some 15 per cent of assessed property

valuation and in Connecticut about 14 per cent.

---

### ***Cities Spend Taxes to Advertise***

Promotional activities are being initiated on both state and municipal levels. San Antonio, Texas, spends some \$100,000 yearly in city funds for promotion. Salina, Kansas, recently created a Department of Industrial Development supported by a half-mill industrial levy voted last year. The department is headed by a director paid \$3,600 a year who is advised by an industrial development board of eleven men appointed by the city commissioners and serving without pay.

The Salina department publishes pamphlets designed to induce new industries to locate in the city and aids in boosting productivity of industry already established there. It also coordinates activities of civic groups interested in industrial development and links city efforts with the Kansas Industrial Commission program.

### **Advertising by Mail**

Several cities are engaging in direct advertising by mail. The Industrial Commission of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for example, recently issued some 20,000 copies of a brochure promoting the advantages of locating industries in Cambridge and outlining the availability of city-owned land for industrial use.

Special taxes support boards of city development in several Texas cities. Kearny and Paterson, New Jersey, also have city-financed industrial commissions. Rochester, New York, has a city Department of Commerce, while in Utica, New York, municipal promotion is carried on by the city Bureau to Secure New Industries. Iron Mountain, Michigan, and numerous other

cities have made similar provisions for encouraging industrial development.

Twenty-three states have enacted laws specifically enabling cities to engage in industrial promotion and direct advertising of municipal advantages. Statutory limitations on promotional expenditure by cities vary considerably. In Rhode Island cities may spend not more than one-quarter mill per dollar of taxable property valuation for promotion, while Michigan cities may spend up to four mills per dollar on advertising.

---

### ***New Jersey Official Given Louisville Award***

Walter R. Darby, director of the Division of Local Government of the State of New Jersey, was winner of the 1946 Louisville Award gold medal. Mr. Darby was presented with the medal, given annually for outstanding service by a public finance official, in recognition of his work in developing a *Handbook for Municipal Officials*. The book provides local officials in New Jersey with an authoritative summary of their duties and responsibilities.

J. D. Huffman, Jr., director of finance of Austin, Texas, was awarded a certificate of merit for designing and installing a modern machine accounting system for his city.

Judges in the contest were F. H. Elwell, dean of the School of Commerce at the University of Wisconsin; George P. Ellis, certified public accountant with Wolf and Company, Chicago; and Herman Kehrl, executive director of the League of Oregon Cities. The awards were announced at the annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, held at Richmond, Virginia, in June, where the organization had the largest attendance in its history.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . Edited by Edward W. Weidner

## Health Service Bill Before British House

### *Minister of Health Proposes Nationally Controlled Plan*

THE Minister of Health, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, introduced the Labor government's National Health Service Bill in the House of Commons on March 19. Placing upon the Minister a general duty "to promote a comprehensive health service for the improvement of the physical and mental health of the people of England and Wales, and for the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness," the bill has important implications for the future of local government, says the *Municipal Journal*.<sup>1</sup>

There are at present in England and Wales two parallel hospital systems: the voluntary hospitals, which provide about 77,000 beds, and the municipal hospitals, which provide about 196,000 beds. These figures do not include 189,000 mental hospital beds, almost all of which are provided by local authorities.

In the new bill the government proposes that the two systems be coordinated into one unified system under national ownership, financed by national funds. To achieve this the government plans to take over the existing public hospitals, voluntary and municipal including mental hospitals. It would administer them on a regional basis through regional hospital boards, with day-to-day management by local hospital management committees.

The Minister of Health will have gen-

eral direction of hospital administration and will be aided by an advisory Central Health Services Council of 41 members. Of these, 21 will be medical practitioners and the balance will represent dentists, nurses and other professional people as well as those having experience in hospital management and local government. Members of regional administrative boards will be chosen from similar groups and will also be centrally appointed. Local governments have been quick to protest their lack of adequate representation on these projected bodies, feeling that the medical profession will have too great a monopoly.

The need for nationalization of the hospitals, however, is generally conceded. Since free hospital and ancillary treatment is to be the right of all under the new bill, and since all will contribute through national insurance, the government must provide the necessary facilities.

### Health Centers

Health centers are to be provided by counties and county boroughs under the direction of executive committees. These committees are to be composed of 24 members, eight from the local health authority (county or county borough), four appointed by the Minister of Health and twelve appointed by the local doctors, dentists and pharmacists. Thus local government is also in the minority on health center committees.

The object of the health center system, based on publicly provided premises, technically equipped and staffed at the public cost, is to provide facilities not only for the general medical and dental services but also for many of the special clinic services of the local health authorities and, some-

<sup>1</sup>See the *Municipal Journal* (London), March 29, 1946, pages 631 and 637; also the *Municipal Review* (London), April 1946, pages 91 and 97.

times, for outpost clinics of the hospital and specialist services. The centers will also be able to serve as bases for various activities in health education.

Mother and child services are left as particularly local government matters, as is the health visitor service.

The entire health plan will be financed by national insurance contributions, national taxes and local rates.

After summarizing the Health Service Bill's main features, the *Municipal Journal* concludes: "Irrespective of what the desires of local authority may be, and accepting the certainty of having one of the country's most important social services run on other than traditional lines, with a lessened operation of the time-honored system of checks and balances, the bill has swung too far towards a managerial economy, perhaps too far from the influence of those people for whose benefit it was designed, the patients."

### **Local Government on South African Cabinet?**

It has been suggested in South Africa that a portfolio for local government be created in the national cabinet. Under the proposal the cabinet would not be increased in size necessarily; the additional portfolio might be held by the Minister of the Interior, to whom municipal bodies should put their points of view and who should speak for those bodies at cabinet discussions.

Commenting editorially on the proposal, the *South African Municipal Magazine*<sup>1</sup> said: "The time is long overdue for a settlement of the points at issue between the municipalities and the state. The most urgent question is that of financial relations which has been dragging on, in one form or an-

other, for about 40 years. . . . This is the most urgent question, but there are others which need to be settled. At present the municipalities have to negotiate with numbers of government and provincial departments when dealing with important works. This leads to delay and confusion.

"Furthermore, the municipalities' point of view may not necessarily be properly presented at cabinet discussions. There is a definite danger that a minister may go to the cabinet with an *ex parte* statement, obtain a cabinet decision on the strength of it and then use this as an argument for enforcing his will upon the local authority. . . .

"The tendency of the past half century has been for more and more power to be concentrated in the hands of a central authority. This may perhaps make for efficiency, but it should never for a moment be forgotten that the very roots of democracy lie in a system of decentralization, in which both power and responsibility reach down in gradations from the cabinet to the smallest local authority. . . .

"It is to be hoped that the government will recognize the work being done by municipalities all over the country by appointing someone in the cabinet to deal specifically with their general problems."

### **Libraries**

In both South Africa and New Zealand a trend toward free public libraries is observable. Until recently fees have been charged.

\* \* \*

### **Greater London Plan**

The County and Greater London Plans have been accepted in broad principle by the central government. A million persons and many industries must move if the contemplated programs for decentralization are carried

<sup>1</sup>March 1946, page 11.

out. Four "rings" around London are planned: the inner or more concentrated ring, the suburban area, a green belt ring, and the outlying districts to which most of the million people will probably move.

\* \* \*

### English Boundaries

The recently established Local Government Boundary Commission in England and Wales has issued its first announcement as to procedure. Special priority will be given to county boroughs planning large scale reconstruction projects involving development outside the existing cities, local units which have had applications before Parliament during the war under the old boundary change procedure which have not been considered, and other cases where special circumstances make immediate consideration desirable. Beyond these situations, priority will be given to county and county borough boundary changes.

\* \* \*

### Fire Service

The British Home Secretary announced in March that henceforth the counties and county boroughs will control the fire services in England and Wales and the county and large burgh councils will do so in Scotland. In 1941 as a result of the war the 1,600 separate fire authorities were replaced by a National Fire Service which is now to be disbanded. A larger measure of central direction, control and grants-in-aid, however, is to follow.

\* \* \*

### Municipal Roads Tax

In South Africa, the Natal provincial executive committee proposes to introduce legislation into the provincial council granting power to all Natal borough and town boards to levy a municipal roads tax to be determined on a wheel load basis. The inadequacy of local rates is increasing with added postwar expenditures.

### German and Austrian Schools

As a contribution to democratic education, the National Self Government Committee, with headquarters in New York, has proposed to the State Department that student self-government and discussion groups be introduced in German and Austrian elementary schools. The organization stresses that only practice in democracy in the schools now will lead to democratic government in these nations in the future.

The group's educational consultant, Dr. Earl C. Kelley, has outlined the program that might be followed. "Once discussion groups are accepted, simple student self-government may be encouraged. As students gain experience in governing themselves, greater responsibility may be granted to them. This practice will be invaluable for democratic government in the future.

\* \* \*

### Manager Plan in South Africa

The Joint Council of Ratepayers in Cape Town is studying the council-manager plan of government as put forth in the *Model City Charter* with a view to campaigning for a reformed charter along those lines. Initial interest in the plan comes from a member of the executive committee of the Joint Council who spent seven years in Oakland, California, during which time the manager plan was put into effect with good results.

\* \* \*

### Singapore's Appointive Commission

The governing body of Singapore since 1913 has been a municipal commission appointed by the governor of the Straits Settlements. In practice, however, nominations by various private groups, such as chambers of commerce and nationality associations, are permitted, according to "Municipal Administration in Singapore," by K. J. O'Dell in the Spring 1946 issue of *Public Administration* (London).

# Books in Review

**Public Men In and Out of Office.** Edited by J. T. Salter. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xx, 513 pp. \$4.

Mr. Salter, in the concluding essay in this book about 27 contemporary American public men "in and out of office," tells us that politicians "are like the people, only more so." In short this book undertakes to hold up 27 mirrors to some 50,000,000 American voter-politicians in the hope that they will see themselves in 27 of their political agents, and take appropriate heart and action, as the case may be.

The keynote of the book is to be found in Mr. Salter's repeated insistence: "By your politicians are ye known." The purpose is to reconcile voters and agents by making them see their essential identity in character and destiny.

The subjects range from Vice President, now President, Truman to the Mayor of Jersey City. They include the late Wendell Willkie, diplomats Messersmith, Grew and Winant, and Secretary Wallace; fifteen present or recent members of Congress and five governors, Messrs. Stassen, Dewey, Bricker, Kerr and Warren.

The Congressmen (of both houses) range from internationalists Fulbright and Ball to isolationists Nye and Fish, from Jerry Voorhis to Theodore Bilbo.

As Mr. Salter explains in his introduction, the bulk of the volume "is devoted to members of the House and Senate," and amounts to "an attempt to describe the national legislature in terms of characteristic and representative members of that body." Hence, it includes such current leaders, by virtue of seniority and Democratic majorities, as Sam Rayburn, Robert L. Doughton, Adolph J. Sabath, "Dean of the House," Alben Barkley and Tom Connally. The picture is rounded out with

portraits of Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Sol Bloom, Claude Pepper and "Cotton Ed" Smith. Significant detail would have been added if some of the recognized Republican leaders and a couple of names never publicized outside their own states except in the *Congressional Record* had been included; but the book is fairly long as it is, and the matter of party affiliation is essentially incidental to its purpose.

The authors are mostly journalists and college professors, picked, obviously, in most cases for their practical as well as their academic and literary qualifications. A number are politicians in their own right. Considering the number, they maintain a commendably high level of readability and fidelity to Mr. Salter's main purpose, although they differ widely in their main approach to their subjects.

On the whole, the value judgments expressed in this book concerning most of the 27 public men and the measures they have dealt with conform pretty closely to what appear to have been the composite American public opinions concerning them. Perhaps this is just a way of saying that the authors are good politicians. Or, if we concede something to their political science, perhaps it is a compliment to the essential soundness of the political judgment of the American people as a whole.

JOHN E. BEBOUT

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

### *Airports*

**Amount of State Funds, by States, Appropriated for Airport Construction.** Compilation Based on Reports Submitted by State Budget Directors. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1946. 8 pp.

**Building Codes**

**Uniform Building Code.** (Revised 1946). Los Angeles, Pacific Coast Building Officials Conference, 1946. 312 pp. \$2.50.

**Business Planning**

**New York Means Business in the Elmira Area**—Counties of Steuben, Schuyler, Tioga, Tomkins and Chemung. **New York Means Business in the Niagara Frontier**—Counties of Erie and Niagara. Albany, State Department of Commerce, 1946. 23 and 28 pp. respectively.

**Congress**

**For a Stronger Congress.** By Philip B. Broughton. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

**Criminal Procedure**

**Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure** with Notes Prepared under the Direction of the Advisory Committee Appointed by the United States Supreme Court and Proceedings of the Institute conducted by the New York University School of Law in collaboration with the Section of Criminal Law of the American Bar Association, the New York State Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut at New York, February 15 and 16, 1946. Edited by Alexander Holtzoff, with an introduction by Tom C. Clark. New York, New York University School of Law, 1946. xxi, 335 pp. \$4.

**Economic Planning**

**Freedom under Planning.** By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945. vii, 180 p. \$2.

**Foundations**

**American Foundations for Social Welfare.** Including a Descriptive Directory of 505 Foundations. By Shelby L. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews. New York 10, Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. 249 pp. \$2.

**Housing**

**Housing: A Community Job.** What Citizens Can Do to Make Their Communities Better Places for Living. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1946. 12 pp. Five cents.

**Inflation in Homes and Home Sites.** Report on a Nation-wide Survey. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1946. 37 pp.

**International Trade**

**Tomorrow's Trade.** Problems of Our Foreign Commerce. Guide Lines to America's Future. By Stuart Chase. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. xl, 156 pp. \$1.

**Municipal Codes**

**Administrative Code** (Amended as of April 23, 1946) City of Marquette, Michigan. Marquette, 1946. 31 pp.

**Pay Rolls**

**Employment and Pay Rolls of State and Local Governments 1929-1939.** By Carol P. Brainerd. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1946. 64 pp.

**Public Safety**

**State Regulation of Safety Education in the United States 1946.** Revised Summary of State Laws, Regulations, Courses of Study and Required Teacher Training in the Field of Safety Education in the Forty-eight States and the District of Columbia. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. 39 pp.

**Public Utilities**

**The Public Utility Franchise.** Its Functions and Terms under State Regulation. By John Bauer. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 22 pp. \$1.

**Racial Discrimination**

**Police Action in Minority Problems.** By Joseph T. Kluchesky. Address before the Fifty-second Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, December 1945.

New York 18, Freedom House, 1946. 16 pp.

#### *Subdivision*

**Practices Followed by Virginia Towns in the Development of Subdivisions.** Richmond 19, League of Virginia Municipalities, 1946. 6 pp.

#### *Taxation and Finance*

**Opportunities for the Improvement of the Virginia State Tax Structure.** Report of the Committee on Taxation and Government of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Richmond 19, The Chamber, 1945. xxii, 181 pp. Paperbound, \$2; clothbound, \$2.50.

**Report Relating to Property Acquired by the City of Boston by Foreclosure of Tax Title.** Boston, Finance Commission, 1946. 32 pp.

**The Self-Supporting City.** Meeting the Problems of Housing, Employment, Taxes. By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1946. 108 pp. \$1.

**State Expenditure in 1944.** Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 30 pp.

#### *Traffic*

**Report of Committee on Transit Operations.** New Haven 11, Conn., Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1945. 7 pp.

### CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from Page 370)

#### **Educating the Citizen**

Dryden Kuser, director of the **Nevada Taxpayers Association**, is giving a series of Monday evening radio talks on taxation over KOH. The program is one of the association's activities designed to keep the taxpayer informed on governmental affairs and costs. Another activity, inaugurated at the association's annual meeting at Reno, is a weekly forum on selected tax subjects. Meetings are open to the public and invitations have been sent

to various state officials and leaders in fields particularly interested in the subject matter discussed. The association hopes that this innovation will stimulate citizen participation in public affairs.

\* \* \*

#### **Strictly Personal**

**Dr. Robert S. Ford**, associate professor of economics at the University of Michigan and director of the university's Bureau of Government, addressed the annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron on "Where Is the Money Coming From?"

**S. Frank Bruno** was elected unanimously as chairman of the Long Beach, New York, Citizens Union at its annual meeting in May. Mr. Bruno succeeds **Albert A. Arditti**, who has been chairman of the organization since its inception four years ago.

### URBAN VS. RURAL

(Continued from Page 354)

interests who stand to lose positions of advantage.

Much is at stake in the electorate's decision on the reapportionment of the Senate. If the proposed plan is adopted, the urban population of the state—71 per cent of the total—will be able to exert power in legislative affairs roughly commensurate with its numerical strength. This probably will mean additional political influence on the part of organized labor and greater impetus to the quest for solutions to the great social and economic problems of urban and industrial society. Finally, victory for the new plan will mark a return to the principle of democracy that each individual should be politically equal whether he lives on a farm or in a city apartment.